The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII | APRIL 5, 1924 | Number 23

News Notes of the Fortnight

Summed up from many sources

More Election Straws

GEORGIA, North Dakota and South Dakota have joined the lists of states from which delegates to the national conventions have been chosen. In Georgia Mr. McAdoo won a victory to balance Mr. Underwood's in Alabama, each man carrying his native state as candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. In North Dakota and South Dakota presidential preference primaries, interest centered in the Republican contest. Hiram Johnson fell behind President Coolidge in North Dakota; more than that, he fell below Senator LaFollette, even though LaFollette's name was not regularly entered and had to be affixed to the ballot by stickers. In South Dakota Mr. Johnson won a few more delegates than the President; he has been making considerable stir over the lavish expenditure of money which he charges characterized the Coolidge campaign.

During April the selection of delegates will go forward briskly—in some states by presidential primaries, in some by other means. Here is the calendar of primaries:

New York and Wisconsin	April	1
Michigan	April	7
Illinois and Nebraska	April	8
New Jersey and Pennsylvania	April	22
Ohio and Massachusetts	April	29

Don't fail to vote in your primaries, if you have any.

Meantime, the probable leader of the third party movement is ill with pneumonia. One statement has been made by Senator LaFollette from his sickbed—that if Republican party and platform at Cleveland are deeply conservative he will bolt. His strength, and the strength of the third party protest, is such that political prophets say he could probably carry six states—and throw the election into the House of Representatives.

Exit Mr. Daugherty

AT last Harry M. Daugherty has resigned as Attorney General of the United States, on the request of the President. The decisive action followed a request by the investigating committee for certain Department of Justice files. Mr. Daugherty meant to refuse, and Mr. Coolidge made the point that the Attorney General's official functions were affected by his personal interest in the matter, causing "embarrassment."

In a return letter, Mr. Daugherty challenged the grounds given by Mr. Coolidge, and defended his course in having stuck to his post under fire. More and more scandalous testimony had preceded this final action, all tending to show the bad grade of the Attorney General's associates. The most recent story, offered by Captain S. L. Scaife, former agent of the bureau of investigation, was one that involved Daugherty's office in a plot to block prosecution of alleged war frauds in connection with aircraft.

Who next? is the natural question. Secretary Mellon, if Senator McKellar of Tennessee has his way, with his proposal to see whether the Secretary of the Treasury holds office legally, in view of the fact that he has an interest in commercial enterprises. But the Democratic reception to this proposal is not at all cordial, and it will probably drop.

Very Briefly

Poland is greatly dissatisfied with the plan for settlement of the Memel controversy decided on by the League of Nations Committee of which Norman H. Davis was chairman, and may reject it. The claim is that Lithuania, which seized Memel last year, gets too much advantage.

W. P. G. Harding, who was expected to become the Financial Governor of Hungary under the League of Nations loan arrangement, has declined the office.

The United States Government has prohibited the exportation of arms to Honduras, where civil war is in progress.

Senator Borah has again (March 27) offered a joint resolution in the Senate requesting the President to call a combined economic and disarmament conference. It specially calls for limitation of aircraft, submarines and war craft of less than 10,000 tons.

Ireland has recently broken out again—which seems a great pity. The immediate trouble was a machine-gun attack on English soldiers by men in Free State officers' uniforms, in which two were killed and about twenty wounded. The Free State Government denounced the outrage and attempted to find the murderers. Back of this lies a mutiny in the national army, some of whose leaders seem to be really DeValera men.

Oil

PROMINENT among the fortnight's events in the oil investigating committee room was the appearance of Harry F. Sinclair, and his refusal to testify because his case was already in the courts. He was cited by the Senate for action by a grand jury on a charge of contempt. Mr. Will Hays, who was chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1920, also appeared, to answer the report that Mr. Sinclair had paid $75,000 to the 1920 campaign fund in oil stock. He admitted the $75,000 was paid, but in money, not stock! Clarence C. Chase, Fall's son-in-law, and Collector of Customs at El Paso, refused to testify and may be impeached.

Poincare—Out and In

COMMENT on the motives and the effect of Premier Poincaré's resignation last week is varied; but no one, at any rate, thought for a moment it meant his retirement. As in England, the Government is expected to resign if it is defeated on a measure it has made a vote of confidence, especially if the bill is important. The measure on which M. Poincaré's defeat came was a rather unimportant and technical matter; but he resigned at once. There was no question of calling any one else to head the Government, and he consented promptly to form a new Cabinet.

In it only two of the former Ministers are retained, and the rest are carefully chosen to balance oppositions. On the whole, it is considered a shrewd political move, calculated to increase the Premier's strength, as the double crisis of elections and the presentation of the Dawes report approaches. But it has apparently had the effect of lessening the Premier's popularity.

Formal announcement has been made that there will be no change in policy.

The Dawes report may come almost at once, or there is a chance that it may be delayed until after the elections in Germany. There are rumblings from Germany that the terms are too difficult to be acceptable, and corresponding rejoicing in France. It is pretty well understood that the Morgan loan, which had strings attached, was made on the condition of French acceptance of the Dawes report, as well as the condition that France must pay higher taxes and balance her budget.

Immigration Changes

WHAT, if anything, is to happen about immigration? The House Immigration Committee has reintroduced the Johnson bill into the House, only slightly changed. The only concession to the Japanese agitation against the provision excluding all who are ineligible for citizenship is that a clause now permits them to come in and remain indefinitely on special business missions.

But this bill, which makes the quota two per cent on the census of 1890, in order to limit immigration from Southeastern Europe, may perhaps be displaced in the House by the immigration bill of Senator Reed (Republican, of Pennsylvania), which has been reported to the Senate. It makes the quota two per cent based, as now, on the census of 1910, and it is said to have Administration backing. It does not contain the Japanese exclusion clause.

The Reed measure prescribes a new method of consular visa checks intended to prevent recurrence of overfilled quotas and deportations. The annual quota would be divided into twelve monthly parts.

Greece—A Republic

ANOTHER king definitely off his throne. The Greek National Assembly has dethroned King George, already in temporary exile, and proclaimed a republic. A national plebiscite to determine what form of government shall rule Greece is due to follow, but no one supposes there is any chance that the ill-fated Glücksburg dynasty will be recalled. Since the disaster in Anatolia a military oligarchy has practically controlled Greece, and since the return of Venizelos the republicans have insisted on the overthrow of the Glücksburg dynasty first, plebiscite afterward. Though it had a parliamentary majority, the Kafandaris Constitutionalist Government, which succeeded that of Venizelos, was overthrown on this issue. Kafandaris refused to hold a conference with a group representing the army on the ground that a political discussion could not be held with army officers.

The Child Labor Bill in Action

COMMITTEES of both the House and the Senate have just reported favorably upon a proposed child labor amendment to the Constitution, the Senate following the wording of the Foster House bill, which makes eighteen years the age limit for Federal control. The prospects for the bill are considered brighter in the House than in the Senate. It is expected to come up promptly in the House and a canvass indicates the probability of a few more than the required two-thirds majority. Delay is predicted in the Senate.

A recent report of the Children's Bureau, on 1923 statistics, shows twenty-nine out of thirty-four cities with increases in the number of children under sixteen who entered employment for the first time. In nineteen cities there was an increase of twenty per cent, while in nine the increase was fifty per cent or more. Here is the direct, concentrated answer to the opponents of the measure.

Now is the time to write your representatives.

The Bok Prize Vote

FINAL results of the Bok Peace Prize referendum have been announced. Only 610,558 ballots were voted. Of these, 534,177 were for the winning plan and 76,381 against it—a percentage of 87½ for and 12½ per cent against. Every state was represented in the vote, as well as the Virgin Islands, Hawaii, Alaska, Porto Rico and the Philippines. The vote was smaller than had been hoped and expected; but of course the vote does not represent the activities of discussion and debate that spread from the prize offer. The best results are not measurable.

Twenty of the plans are being published in book form. Among the authors are Dr. Charles W. Eliot, David Starr Jordan, Manley O. Hudson, Bishop Charles H. Brent, Gutzon Borglum, Simeon Strunsky, and Dr. M. Carey Thomas.

Cleo Damianakes, whose blithe Impromptu on our cover is one of a series of etchings of musical moods, is a slip of a girl whose slim youth might be the model for her own graceful dancers. Graduated from the University of California, in 1918, she won the Taussig scholarship in art, which gave her a year of study in New York. On her return to California she was commissioned to decorate the auditorium of the Berkeley High School. From mural work she turned to etching, and so sure was her touch that the first four etchings she printed were accepted for exhibit in 1921 by the California Society of Etchers. The next year she won the Logan medal of the Chicago Society of Etchers. The National Academy has accepted her work for exhibition ever since she started to etch. She has a particular facility for grace and beauty of line which should stand her in good stead in the color work she plans to do.

The Bonus

THE House of Representatives passed the bonus bill by a vote of 355 to 54 in forty minutes. How much sincere conviction is represented in the vote and how much lack of courage, it would be idle to guess. The estimates of the cost of the bonus made by actuaries of the Treasury and by actuaries of the American Legion differ widely; but in any case the cost is likely to be two billion or more, and it promises a burden passed down through generations. The present measure includes an insurance feature rather than a cash bonus for those who served more than 110 days.

The problem is now up to the Senate, and it is expected to have attention ahead of tax legislation.

A Labor Party Problem

ONE of the hardest problems so far for the British Labor Government has been the Singapore Naval Base. This base was decided on by a preceding administration as a defense against Japan—or that, at any rate, was considered to be its reason for existence. It was heartily defended by the Admiralty against the opposition which arose at once. The Labor Party, committed to disarmament policies and friendly foreign relations, disapproved the plan, but the Conservative opposition was so strong that Mr. MacDonald dared not risk defying it and had to restrain the more radical wing of the party. When the navy appropriation bill was recently introduced in the House of Commons, however, announcement was made that the Government would not proceed with the naval base program, believing it would have a bad effect on foreign policy. "We stand for a foreign policy of international cooperation through a strengthening and enlarged League of Nations," said Mr. MacDonald, "which will make possible a comprehensive agreement on elimination of armaments. The task can be achieved only by allaying the international suspicions and anxieties which exist today."

The Tax Seesaw

NO answer yet to the question, Will the taxpayer get relief any time soon, or not? After the House suddenly and unexpectedly passed the Longworth compromise measure, the Senate Finance Committee switched back to the Mellon plan. It is just finishing the work of revising schedules—restoring rates to offset the deficit which Mr. Mellon assured it the Longworth bill would produce. Meantime, early returns from the income-tax payments indicate a greater source of revenue there than had been estimated.

April 1, 1924.

The Rising Liberal Tide

Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

Women's Present Job is Study

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

March 27, 1924.

ONCE in a while down here, figuratively, some window opens through which there is a startling view of American politics. Interspersed with the fortnight's political round, your correspondent has been reading General Allen's "My Rhineland Journal." Now it could not be supposed that every one interested in national politics would want to wade through these six hundred pages of diary transcript, relating in great part to the technicalities of the Rhine occupation by allied troops—although it will be fascinating to some. Nevertheless, there is one of the political lessons of the ages bound up in its intimate personal reactions.

Here was one of our finest soldier-statesmen, a hardened, tactical, firm, matter-of-fact old soldier placed in a position where he was obliged to be diplomat par excellence in what was virtually an enemy country. He was far away from the United States in a valley where the isolation of Washington ought to have been obvious, if anywhere. But every day's journal in an unselfconscious way reflected the effect of the slightest turn in American politics upon that part of Europe and its affairs, not upon its theoretical affairs but its humanities, its money, its food, its government, the health and welfare of its families, the children, men and women.

Our Foreign "Observers"

This may sound remote from the record of Congress today. Your correspondent feels it closely at hand. Foreign embassies and legations are sending "unofficial observers" to these hearings and political melodramas at the Capitol. They sit near the front with set faces. Whatever are they thinking of the scene? What can they report to their chiefs? Of what they report, what kind of official letter is sent back to Europe as indicative of the trend of American politics? And what is the net impression upon Europe of our present doings?

Let us try to look at ourselves as part of the whole. Little is said here these days about the labor government in England. We are too wound up with what Mr. Sinclair and his millions will do next. At dinner tables, one hears that America forgets in her carelessness that although Mr. MacDonald represents the laboring people of Great Britain he is not "rough." His wife, these Britishers constantly remind us, was one of the Gladstones, and above and beyond that distinguished birth, a woman of the greatest ability and extraordinary charm, to whom the whole country pays homage and respect, having erected a monument to her memory and placed her upon a pedestal of esteem. They may add that in their belief the labor government will not last beyond next August—that is a matter of political conjecture, but don't make mistakes about the MacDonald family, even to the present young hostess, who, Washington thinks, is attending to her work very fitly indeed.

Conservatives in both the old parties here are not happy in dwelling upon the labor success in England, for it is too keenly allied to what may happen in this country at the next election. It is idle to depreciate the gains made by our own liberal and radical factions. Liberals have not had such an inning in American politics in the history of the country. The cartoonists and jokesters who have been feeding upon Senator LaFollette and his bushy hair for the past ten years, and upon Debs and Gompers and the rest, have run to cover, for the point of their jibes is a little too real to serve cartoon purposes. About the only results that Congress has been able to put upon the record have been brought about by the liberal groups. The Senate Interstate Commerce Committee reports in favor of the reduction of freight rates this week—another leg in the progressive program. Senator Johnson makes gains in the South Dakota Republican presidential primary. Senator Norris's resolution for a constitutional amendment changing the date of the convening of Congress and the inauguration of a President gains support. The liberals are running the most important hearings that are being conducted today, having secured the chairmanships of the investigating committees.

Liberal Wave Coming?

A little more rottenness in the old parties emerging on the surface, and liberals will only have to call "all good men to come to the aid of their country" to effect a new alignment. It would be following the present world cycle that the United States should join other countries in a wave of liberalism after a period which went to the other extreme in an attempt at isolation and retention of an old status in a new world. Only a little more momentum in Congress and throughout the country for the liberal program and it will carry itself, for the psychology of "Nothing succeeds like success" is more true in national politics than in any other branch of American life. The Republican reaction to the Wilsonian doctrine at Versailles was so profound and extensive a success that it ran itself into extravagances, just as a liberal program would do if there were nothing added to human experience and wisdom in the meantime.

But at this stage, there is an invaluable opportunity for women. Factions and sects are nebulous. There are many lines of demarcation in the progressive groups; a few want a near-soviet; some a powerful central government Socialist control; others the enactment of a liberal program and a renaissance within the old parties which will make over our political foundation into a more constructive and forward-looking machine; some an out-and-out labor party or labor

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Is Woman Suffrage Failing?

Of course it is too soon to answer the question. We admit it. Only those who fought for suffrage on the theory that it would bring the millennium need be on the defensive. We didn't. Yet it is a worth-while question to ask, we think. Attacks are being made on women's use of their votes, gloomy doubts expressed; many friends of suffrage even are uneasy. With so much smoke, it may be well to hunt around for a bit of fire. Besides (we uncover our motive) nothing can be better for women in political activities than a challenge. This is one reason why the Citizen is collecting the opinions of a wide variety of people to present in successive numbers. In this issue you have a former suffrage leader, a university president, a prominent Socialist, a caretaker, a political worker with distinguished connections, and a young actress. We are seeking out farmers, working girls, policemen, preachers, miners' wives, senators, for later numbers. And short letters of comment from our readers will be welcome.

Vira B. Whitehouse

"One thing disappoints me—the lack of women leaders."

Mrs. Whitehouse, society and business woman, was the leader of the New York State suffrage campaign which made the Federal victory possible.

"AM I disappointed in the results of Woman Suffrage? It is said that a large proportion of women do not vote—a larger proportion than of men. I do not know if it is true or not. I am not interested and I am not surprised. I was not one of those who worked for woman suffrage because they felt that women were better and wiser than men, and would, ballot in hand, at once make a better and wiser world.

"I think those who expected such results missed something of the enormous significance of the achievement. It is the future effect that appeals to me—the effect on our daughters and granddaughters, on women on into the centuries.

"We all know women who feel their inferiority to men. The acceptance of such inferiority has paralyzed the ambitions of women, it has barred us from interest in political, financial and other questions that men have considered their own. It is no wonder that women, who have grown up and have grown old accepting exclusion on such grounds, should not have interest in voting now. I believe that woman suffrage will do as much as any combination of other opportunities to free the women of the future from this paralyzing sex inferiority complex, and will give the world a self-respecting, intelligent, free womanhood.

"There is little danger that the women of the future, growing up in an atmosphere of equality, will not avail themselves of their right to vote, as men do now.

"But there *is* one thing in the aftermath of the suffrage agitation that does disappoint me. It is the lack of women leaders. The suffragists, in the long struggle for the vote, built up a trained and cohesive organization. With suffrage won, it was plainly a waste to abandon this organization of politically experienced women.

"So some of us (I was not one) saw the opportunity to stand together and work for the things they all believed in.

"But what has been made of it? It is true that the political education of women, child welfare and social legislation—indisputably fine and necessary things—have been endorsed and worked for. But has not the opportunity to lead in the thought of our day been missed by the great independent, trained women's organizations? When great controversial questions have come up, like the League of Nations, for instance, has there been a conscientious effort to discover the real attitude of the women of the organizations? It seems to me that such questions have been sidestepped as gracefully as possible. With no axes to grind, the organizations have had an eye to prestige, just as if they were men politicians in a presidential year.

"In our suffrage campaigning days we all knew women of an older generation who had had the courage to break from convention and go to college, who after that one courageous act had stood pat all the rest of their lives and, in our day, were anti-suffragists. Is it possible that some of our suffragists, after having defied convention and become suffragists when it needed courage, are going to stand pat now, all the rest of their lives and take no chance with other forward steps? Must we look to the younger women for the courage of leadership—or will some of the experienced women open their eyes once more and lead us courageously on into the future? With the exception of a few great ones, they have not done so yet, and it is time that they should."

Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse
Former Suffrage Leader

Winifred Lenihan

The star in Bernard Shaw's "Saint Joan" sees no millennium through suffrage, but considerable individual advantage.

WINIFRED LENIHAN slipped off the robe of *Saint Joan* and came to earth with a plunge, as she delved into the intricacies of the woman-voter question while removing makeup in the star dressing-room.

"Woman's suffrage is not a cause of anything and should not be looked upon that way," Miss Lenihan declared, as she rubbed and rubbed. "It is an effect, the outcome of the great change in women's status that has altered her attitude toward men, toward work, toward life. It is evidence of how far womankind has progressed.

"In the days of the fight I was much

Winifred Lenihan
Actress

excited over woman's suffrage, waved the yellow flag and all that. But about the time we got the vote I went into the theater, and have been going lickety-split ever since. I did take time out this year, though, to join the National Woman's Party. All along I have never felt we could accomplish any great thing as women. It was the right and the principle that mattered. It seemed so ridiculous that only half of our population should be citizens. But as for women effecting any sweeping changes as voters—that's all bunk. They are much the same as men in that respect.

"Still, now at least women are able to accomplish their own ends directly. They don't have to work in and out, through the men, as they used to. They can go on their own. I was reading the other day how Florence Nightingale, that wonderful woman of genius, could approach the committees of the House of Commons only through some man as representative. Fancy such a thing today!

"Possession of the vote has certainly changed the attitude of politicians toward women. Now we have a power that stands for something. To many women this makes a vital difference. I am thinking of my mother, who is a widow. Some years ago she had a little house that meant a great deal to her; but it was taken over her head. The lease was only verbal. Because she was a woman they took full advantage of their legal right. Today her situation is quite different. With five women's votes in the house and the landlord a rising politician, she gets every consideration.

"Women take far more interest in what is going on in the world. I am particularly impressed by the fact that some of the very women who work hardest at politics now are the ones who howled most against suffrage. They were the conservative women who declared that the vote would weaken their position, double the ignorant vote, and all that. But when they got it, they considered it their duty to pitch in and work. Their attitude, of course, is consistent; but it is striking in view of the fact that many of the most arduous suffrage workers have lapsed into inactivity."

Some of the "interviews" have come in by letter, in response to a list of questions. Here are the answers of **Dr. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, whose ninetieth birthday has just been celebrated by the whole country. His "main fact" about the woman vote is that there isn't much of it.**

"I ANSWER the questions contained in your letter to me dated March 1, 1924, as follows:

"What difference has the woman's vote made to you? None.

"Do you know of any (sure) evidence that the vote has—or hasn't—made any difference among the people you know? No.

"In the country at large? No.

"Are the political parties any better since women entered them? Not to speak of.

"Do women discuss public affairs? Yes. Among themselves, as formerly.

"Do they vote independently of their husbands? Impossible to tell.

"Is there any evidence that the men politicians are afraid of women's influence? Only on prohibition matters.

"The main fact about the woman vote seems to be that only a small proportion of the women vote in most American communities."

Charles W. Eliot

Mrs. R. F. DeCallies

Housekeeper and caretaker of a city apartment house gives us an answer of valiant simplicity and directness.

"I HAVE never voted and probably never will, but that is because I have not studied public questions. A woman who does not study should not vote, nor should a man who does not study. But the vote has been a wonderful thing for women in general, and it has made some women think. And it has given every woman a better frontage. I mean she turns a better front to the world, and she is more on her own feet."

Rose Pastor Stokes

"The real issues are class, not sex, issues."

A prominent Socialist, Mrs. Stokes presents a Socialist point of view in answering the same questions as Dr. Eliot.

"I CAN only think of the value of the vote in its relation to the women of the farms and of the working class. Though its value in arousing consciousness is undoubted, I have no illusions as to its ultimate value at the ballot-box. I am convinced that when

Rose Pastor Stokes
Social Worker

the masses demand fundamental change under the increasing pressure of unbearable living conditions, the propertied interests, through their fascist organizations, will meet that demand with violence. The ballot, in other words, will be knocked from their hands by the club or the butt of a gun.

"Conditions among the farmers are worse than they've been in decades. The working masses in the cities are exploited more bitterly than before the war. The ballot can help them today only if they are powerfully organized and demand through their organizations a workers' and farmers' government.

"Political parties are expressions of class interests, not of struggle between sexes. The old parties, which are the

parties of property, may incline men to use more polite language at party meetings, now that women have entered them, but this does not alter the class character of their programs.

"In public discussion more women today participate, but I find they line up according to class interest exactly as men do.

"Where it is a question of the two old parties, such differences as exist between husband and wife cannot be serious. Usually the two have a common class outlook. It is only in those extremely rare cases where the two are divided in class outlook and class interest that truly independent voting can be said to take place.

"Men politicians are not afraid of women's influence because they happen to be women. Where women are radical, politicians are worried. But they equally fear radicalism in men. In other words, the real issues are class, not sex, issues."

Mrs. Walter Damrosch

Being the daughter of James G. Blaine, the wife of the famous conductor was brought up on Republican politics. She is a leader of the insurgents who are carrying on a spirited fight in New York's "silk stocking district."

THE vote has meant more to women than the woman voter has as yet meant to politics, in the opinion of Mrs. Walter Damrosch. But the very development that suffrage is working in women must eventually be of great benefit to the community, she declared, as our conversation in the inviting library of the great conductor's home came to a close.

"I think already women in politics have exercised a wonderful influence over men. When I first came to New York nothing impressed me so much as the lack of interest men took in politics. I was horrified to find that election days were looked upon as general holidays. The first thing a man tried to do was to get out of town for the day. I was accustomed to looking upon voting as something for which one would cross half the country. I recalled my brother traveling all the way from Minneapolis to Maine just to cast his vote.

"When women entered politics, even those who resented having the vote thrust upon them took much more interest. By simply observing them, the men were awakened to appreciation of what the vote means.

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Spoils or Civil Service?

By Schuyler C. Wallace

Of Columbia University

APPROXIMATELY three and one half million people constitute the civil service of the United States, Federal, state, and local. Through their hands pass yearly some nine billion dollars, constituting, so it was estimated in 1921, one eighth of the total income of the country. Their salaries alone reach almost four billion dollars.

These facts may perhaps give some conception of the size of the Government's employment problem, which in itself warrants serious attention. And that this is not an abnormal situation caused by the war a study of pre-war statistics indicates. In fact, these statistics show that we can expect the problem to be accentuated in point of size through the expansion of the state and municipal activities which were curbed by the war.

It is not the size of the problem alone, however, that calls it to our attention. The strategic location of Government officials in relation to our entire social life in itself makes the matter of utmost importance. Illustrations of this might be drawn from almost any branch of the service.

A City's Dependence

The lives of millions of tenants in our cities depend upon the capacity and honesty of the building inspectors not only with respect to fire, but also with respect to the construction of the buildings themselves. To a greater degree, perhaps, is the public dependent upon the health service in its varied phases. Carelessness in connection with the water supply may at any time result in an epidemic. Dishonesty in food inspection may have equally dire results. It was the maladministration of the San Francisco Board of Health that was to thank for the entrance of bubonic plague into this hemisphere. For at the time of the San Francisco Exposition they refrained from taking active steps in stamping out a local epidemic for fear the news of the local infection might injure the success of the project.

High-Grade Men Needed

Illustrations might be multiplied but sufficient have already been cited to indicate the catastrophic consequences of inefficiency and dishonesty in the government service. Mention should also be made of the gains that have accrued to society when high-grade men have filled the posts. Perhaps the most outstanding example of this was the discovery of the cause of yellow fever by an army physician. The gains which have already accrued to humanity through this discovery can never be calculated.

It is imperative, therefore, that these governmental positions be filled with the highest grade of men obtainable.

How can it be done?

In general, two ways have existed. One is popularly known as the "spoils system"; the other is the "merit system." The former is the traditional and still exceedingly widespread method. It is still in use in thirty-eight of the states, most of the smaller cities and practically all of the counties. The chief argument in its favor is the argument of *executive responsibility*. Complete harmony is necessary between the chief executive and his subordinates if efficient administration is to be secured. And it is maintained that this can only be secured when all offices, from top to bottom, are filled by members of the same party.

Superficially the contention seems to be sound. A moment's reflection, however, reveals the fact that the chief tasks of administration are not partisan. There is, after all, no Democratic way of mixing concrete; nor is there a Republican way of causing chemical reactions.

A Bogy

But, it is declared, subordinates of opposite political faith may sabotage in order to destroy the public's faith in the administrative ability of the party in power. Should such a situation arise one course only is possible and that is the removal of the undesirables. It would then be removal for inefficiency, however, and not for political convictions. That such a condition would ever arise is very doubtful, for under the administration of an enemy the natural inclination of those of the opposite political faith would be to perform their functions in such a way that the charge of inefficiency could not be made nor removal follow.

Beneath these rationalizations lies the real driving force that has made for the maintenance of the system—partisan appetites. For a frank statement of the parties point of view we must again turn to the philosophizings of George Washington Plunkett,* the old-time Tammany leader who was quoted in an earlier article.

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* Riordan, Plunkett of Tammany Hall.

Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker

By Frances Drewry McMullen

"MRS. PERCY V. PENNYBACKER needs no introduction to you—she belongs to the clubwomen of America."—The presiding officer at the huge women's meeting I was attending made a graceful gesture, a slight bow, and withdrew.

A perceptible stir ran through the audience. All who had not heard or met Mrs. Pennybacker at least knew her by name. Many of them saw her for the first time. A tiny little woman in a dark dress with a bit of real lace at the throat, her silver gray hair waved back from a sweet and gentle countenance, advanced to the front of the rostrum.

All eyes were fixed intently upon her. As she spoke, all listened with keen attention. Her liquid, clear Southern tones, ringing through the hall, held and swayed that body of women as did no other speaker on the long and varied program.

"She is that combination of home body and public figure that represents the aspiration of thousands of American women today"

Likewise, women the length and breadth of this country, in England, Ireland, Cuba and Canada have thrilled to the voice of Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker. Men, too, have listened and been moved. Throughout the English-speaking world have gone her messages of simple wisdom and emotional appeal. Always greeted with honor and respect, she stands for something more than the ordinary lecturer and clubwoman. She is that combination of home body and public figure that represents the aspiration of thousands of American women today.

What Mrs. Pennybacker is and stands for, most clubwomen know. The making of this woman is a story familiar to few. It began when ambition sprang up in the heart of a pinafored little girl, one of eight brothers and sisters, plus several adopted members, the family of a minister.

"Even back in those days I longed to be 'somebody,'" Mrs. Pennybacker recalled as we sat chatting in a New York hotel. "Great wealth never appealed to me. But I yearned to take some part in the work of the world. I remember often thinking to myself, 'Suppose I should die tonight, no one would even know that I had lived.' I cannot tell you how that thought worried me.

"My mother often mourned over my lack of executive ability: Nothing but study seemed worth while. But think how far afield I have since been flung into the world of executive work! That I had any bent in that direction was revealed to me only in later years, when, as a teacher, I found discipline not at all a problem. My pupils worked with me as partners in the same corporation."

Circumstances led the child from her birthplace in Virginia to North Carolina, to West Virginia and later to Kansas, before the final move to Texas. Circumstances also thwarted her ambition to attend the University of Michigan or Vassar College. Upon its opening, she entered, instead, the first normal college in the State of Texas. There she met Percy V. Pennybacker, whom, after four years of teaching, she married.

"We had ten wonderful years teaching and doing educational work together," she went on in the simple, straightforward account of her career. "I had no thought of giving up my profession when I married. I had always had the feeling that unless I pursued some definite work of my own I would lose all contact with the world. That was a thought I could not bear. Had I known then—as I have since found out—what a wide scope of public activity is open to women at home, perhaps it might have been otherwise.

"As things were, we made every plan for me to go on with my teaching, which I did until just before the birth of our second boy. Then I threw myself, my interests and what time I could spare from my home into women's club work."

Several years before this, the longing for intellectual companionship in the town of Tyler, Texas, led Mrs. Pennybacker to organize the first woman's club in that section. In the next town to which her husband's work of developing public-school systems took the little family, her suggestion turned the existing woman's club from futile pursuits to an intensive study of Bryce's "American Commonwealth" and Draper's "International Development of Europe." When settled in Austin and free from school duties, she became more and more engrossed in the work of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs until she became its president.

During her term of office Mrs. Pennybacker first came into the national limelight. This happened at a biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, held in Los Angeles in 1902.

"That convention was one of the most thrilling things I have ever experienced. I was so much interested in the program that I became very much out of patience with the women who talked and talked to no purpose. Innocently I arose time and again to move the previous question. I had no thought of publicity. One of the reporters asked for my photograph.

Everybody supposes everybody knows all about prominent women whose names are familiar. And very often it isn't so. We know what they are and not how they came to be so. The CITIZEN *hopes to publish a number of "personalities" that will tell how these well-known women got started, and what bent the twig. For one, here is a leader among clubwomen.*

but I had none with me and told him I had no time to have one taken. But one morning one of the newspapers came out with a photograph from the morgue and verses to 'Mrs. Previous Question Pennybacker.' Not long after that I was elected treasurer of the General Federation, my first national office."

Mrs. Pennybacker was chosen to a second national office, auditor and chairman of program, at the following election in 1906 and afterward was appointed to raise the Federation's $100,000 endowment fund. She was elected president of the General Federation in 1912, which office she held until 1916.

"That my life has been what it has is due largely to my husband," Mrs. Pennybacker declared. "I don't see how any woman could combine home and public life without the co-operation of her husband. Mine was my greatest inspiration. My children, too, have always helped.

"Though of Virginian stock, living at a time when few men endorsed the suffrage movement, Mr. Pennybacker was a born suffragist. So far from holding me back, he always urged me on. Fair and broadminded in all things, he encouraged me whenever I shrank back.

"He was in entire sympathy with my continuing to teach after we were married. He urged me to get the best nurse-maid, the best cook and the best man servant that could be had, so that I would be free from worry about things at home."

The library in Mrs. Pennybacker's home in Austin, Texas.

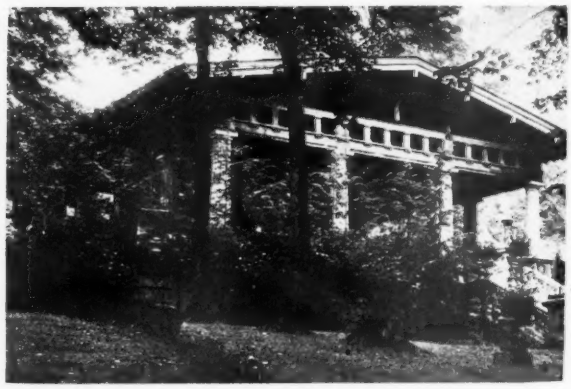
Mrs. Pennybacker tells a story of how her husband was responsible for her first large-scale literary venture. She already had contributed to several educational journals, when one day a visiting school official, declaring that an adequate history of the state was the outstanding need of the Texas public-school system, suggested that she write the book. Mrs. Pennybacker laughed at the idea until she mentioned it to her husband. He insisted the official was right. With his encouragement and assistance she produced her history of Texas, used for twenty-five years in the state schools.

It was Mr. Pennybacker who first pointed out to her her peculiar gift for moving people and urged her to speak more in public. Afterward, when accompanying him to educational conventions, she took an increasingly active part in the programs until she became well-known as a public speaker.

"Had my husband lived—he died in 1899"—she continued, "it is doubtful whether I could have carried on my work in just the way I did. I could hardly have been so much away from home; but I could have directed my activities into other channels. As it was, with the assistance of excellent Swedish servants and with application of the same system and organization that club work requires, I managed without difficulty.

"In my husband's lifetime our babies never stopped us. When we went away in the summer to study, we always bundled up the family and took them along. We studied in Chicago, New York, Chautauqua, London, Paris, Berlin and Munich. After his death, when the children were still small, I was seldom absent from home more than a few days at once. I always had some trusted, gentle woman to come then and stay with them. In their vacations from school I took them with me.

"When, as president of the General Federation, I was called upon to travel all over the country, my sons and my daughters were away at school or college. Now they have scattered for work of their own."



Where her summers are spent — at The Women's Club of Chautauqua.

Since the expiration of her term as president of the General Federation, Mrs. Pennybacker's interests and activities have subsided not in the least. She plunged first into numerous war activities. In 1920 she was appointed chairman of the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Women Voters. The following year she accepted chairmanship of the Citizenship committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

"I hardly know how my days go by—they are so full"— she remarked at the end of one that had been crowded with conferences and appointments since early morning. "Anyone who wants to do public work need never fear the lack of opportunity. If you have anything to give and the willingness to work, the rest will take care of itself. Your life will be as full as you care to make it."

A few weeks ago Mrs. Pennybacker accepted a position as chairman of the Citizenship Department of the National Council of Women, a branch of the International Council of Women. At that time she was invited to attend the executive council of the body, convening in Denmark in May.

She is busy every spring and fall on the lecture platform, disseminating her philosophy and ideals among the womanhood of America. Every summer more than two thousand women from all sections of the country come within her influence. They form the Women's Club of Chautauqua, New York. Programs are arranged by Mrs. Pennybacker that bring this mass of womanhood into close contact with the greatest thinkers and workers of the nation. Every afternoon, for six weeks, the assembly is addressed by some authority on citizenship, politics or international relations. Every outstanding question of the day is presented and discussed. Among the speakers introduced by Mrs. Pennybacker are many of Chautauqua's most distinguished visitors. At the close of the Club's final session these hundreds of women return to their cities, towns and villages to spread the ideas there inspired.

Besides all this, Mrs. Pennybacker is chairman of the national committee of women for the restoration of the library of Louvain, and—her latest honor—one of the three women who are the first to be appointed members of the board of trustees of the Near East Relief. "As full as you care to make it," in Mrs. Pennybacker's case is very full.

Making Garbage Respectable

By Caroline Bartlett Crane

NOTHING in the line of our municipal housekeeping is so sketchily done—when not entirely disowned as a municipal function—as the collection and ultimate disposal of kitchen waste. The day of the private well in built-up districts is past. Whether the householder will connect with the sewer is seldom any longer an optional matter. Yet, in many of our medium-sized cities, and most of those of thirty thousand and under, garbage is scarcely recognized as a health menace or the clean home as a civic asset worth paying for. Consequently, we have little but feeble and haphazard "regulation" of private garbage contractors who collect at so much per month from the residences of the well-to-do, and serve a large majority of the people not at all.

Indeed, in the matter of garbage disposal our larger cities prove themselves erratic and temperamental to a degree, abruptly scrapping expensive systems in favor of something "different" and appointing endless commissions to determine what *is* best to do with the ever-increasing mass and menace of garbage.

"Something to Do"

This article is written with the purpose of holding up this unsolved civic-domestic problem to the eye of public-spirited women looking over their town for "something to do." I shall limit myself to collection and sanitary disposal of kitchen, table and market waste in other than rural and village communities, where garbage is quite properly fed fresh to chickens and pigs or buried in the back yard.

The problem includes: the temporary care of garbage upon the home premises; the removal of this material at intervals; its ultimate conversion into non-putrescible substance; all these processes to be accomplished in conformity to the principles of sanitation, and with the minimum of private and public inconvenience.

To begin at the home-end of the problem: There is a method so simple and combining so many advantages of sanitation and convenience that it should be prescribed by ordinance in all cities where it will not interfere with the method of ultimate disposal.

All wet garbage, as it occurs in the process of handling food, is drained of free moisture, usually in a colander standing in the kitchen sink. It is then wrapped securely in paper or put in the household cartons and tins that have been emptied of food, and placed in the water-tight, covered metal receptacle of standard size which every city ought either to furnish or to require of the *owner of the property* for each household. This can, when emptied of its parcels by the collector, usually shows no soil whatever—"clean enough to keep pies in," declared a former health commissioner of Minneapolis who inaugurated the method several years ago. (However, a precautionary weekly scalding is recommended.) By the wrapped garbage method one may keep the same clean, surely sterilized, shapely, new-looking can on the premises. Moreover, the wrapping of garbage materially retards putrefaction and prevents access of flies. Indeed, this simple method lifts garbage out of a complex of repulsive and menacing associations into the status of a perfectly respectable by-product of the culinary art.

This is the second article by Mrs. Bartlett Crane in a series of three on Cooperation toward a Clean City. First came clean streets; here is the garbage problem; and an article on smoke abatement follows. A well-known expert in sanitary problems, Mrs. Bartlett Crane offers practical help to women who want to do something municipally useful. With this article in hand and mind, they should be prepared to make garbage respectable. Mrs. Bartlett Crane has herself made sanitary surveys of sixty-two cities in fourteen states.

The advantages of draining and wrapping garbage incline me strongly toward some method of disposal which fits in with it. Under this head will be considered: (a) burial in trenches or plowing under; (b) the sanitary fill; (c) incineration. Following which I will consider (d) feeding to swine and (e) "reduction"—methods which do not admit of home-wrapping of garbage. Dumping of uncovered masses of garbage to putrefy in the open air can have no place in a discussion of permissible methods. Disposal by deposit in the ocean will be omitted, as feasible for very few cities and questionable for any.

Burial in trenches, or plowing under upon well-drained land, may serve as a method in quite small cities which have no low land that will be improved by filling. However, it usually requires a long, expensive haul and, always, great care of details to insure against nuisance. This method requires a good deal of land, one to three acres per year for each daily ton, according to quality of soil. However, the same land can be used over again in a few years, or else sold, enriched by the deposits, and new land purchased.

The sanitary (or Gorgas) fill. I first met this method in 1914 while making a municipal sanitation survey of Seattle and several other cities for the Washington State Board of Health. By this method (originated by General Gorgas in the Panama Zone, and first used in this country in New Orleans) layers of garbage three feet deep, mixed with more or less bulky waste so as to facilitate air circulation, are given a porous but light-excluding covering, under which the garbage is speedily converted into inorganic material by scavenger bacteria. Crushed clinker for the three incinerators then also in operation was used for the porous covering to the depth of three or four inches. Sections of these fills, made a few months later, disclosed no organic material. Tin cans had completely disappeared by oxidation.

However, in Seattle at the present time, and in Kansas City, Davenport and numerous other cities, a modification of the Gorgas fill is in use. Three-inch layers of ashes or earth are used as covering of garbage, tin cans, waste papers, etc., and oxidation is mainly depended on for conversion into inorganic substance.

Practical "Don'ts"

But the sanitary fill is subject to some of the nuisances attending the ordinary dump, which should be guarded against by having one or more men always on the premises to receive and at once properly care for deliveries; the use of deodorants and the Gorgas spray for exterminating flies; a fence to corral flying papers; a patrolman at night to prevent surreptitious dumping of waste, including dead animals, and to extinguish accidental fires which constitute a menace to surrounding property.

"And *never,*" warns the present Health Commissioner of Seattle, "deposit sawdust in a fill. It will take up grease from the garbage, and fire spontaneously, burning with a most offensive odor." If any carelessness at fills is tolerated, smoke and the dust from earth

(*Continued on page* 26)

Editorially Speaking

Who's to Blame for Congress?

A GREAT wave of weariness is rising all over the country against the present Congress. The American public is accustomed to a Congress that moves with extreme slowness, but the record of the present body is close to zero. Look at the great issues outlined by Mrs. Stokes on page 24, every one of which demands action. Many of them have been before Congress for a long time, but there is scarcely one of which the end even yet is in sight. It was urged that the tax bill should be passed in time to relieve the March payments of income taxes, but it looks now as if nothing would be done before the next quarterly instalment is due. To the measures listed by Mrs. Stokes should be added the World Court, recommended by the late President Harding and endorsed by President Coolidge in his first message to Congress, which still slumbers in committee.

Each party seems to be afraid of the political consequences of decisive action on any measure, and there is talk of Congress adjourning for the political party conventions, leaving these important questions hanging in the air. The inevitable result of such inaction will be an unreasoning desire on the part of the voters to get rid of the present incumbents and to elect new ones. Such action, taken blindly, would accomplish little. A new Congress will offer small improvement as long as the great game of politics holds the boards and is accepted by the public. As long as every issue is looked at by the individual Congressman from the standpoint of the effect of any action on his own success at the polls, and by party leaders from its effect on the fortunes of their political party, public welfare is bound to suffer. The public knows this, but it does not act on it, so it cannot escape its own responsibility in the matter. The crux of the question is, will the public play the game with the politicians, or will it put its own interest above partisanship and vote for a Congress that will do the same?

Draft Money as Well as Men

A PLAN to prevent war which is getting considerable attention—and deserves it—is that for the conscription of material resources as well as men. The late President Harding recommended this course, which would take the profits out of war. It is our understanding that Bernard M. Baruch, formerly chairman of the War Industries Board, advocated something of the kind long before, and more recently in a speech before the War College. For months *The Christian Science Monitor* has collected opinions from all over the country on its proposal that, in order to make war as repellent to all classes as it is to those who must fight, this amendment to the Constitution shall be passed: "In the event of a declaration of war, the property, equally with the persons, lives and liberties of all citizens, shall be subject to conscription for the defense of the nation." A large number of comments from legislators, capitalists, clergy, college professors and journalists have been published, and the prevailing opinion is earnestly in favor. Many types of distinguished men and women believe that a concerted effort in peace time to make sure that there shall be no profiteers next war time will go far to prevent that time from coming. When the war occasion actually comes, the pressure of private interests which would profit is disguised as patriotism—is exerted in scores of indirect ways hard to detect and estimate.

Not all the comment approves the proposal, of course—the word "demagoguery" has been hurled at it, for instance. The thoroughgoing pacifist objects to a plan based on recognition of the possibility of war. Others approve, but worry lest the plan be urged as a substitute for international cooperation—which is not in the intention. But among those who approve are not only the soldiers, who so bitterly resent profiteering, but the capitalists as well.

The same proposal has recently been made in resolutions introduced in Congress, and the House Committee on Military Affairs held a hearing on it last week. Mr. Baruch argued for it, working out practical details for the mobilization of men and industries. Nothing can be more odious to a decent mind than the idea of war profiteering—unless it be war itself—and a plan to do away with it should receive the most serious thought.

The Bootlegger's Partner

THE guilt of the man who buys from the bootlegger and his share of the responsibility for crimes which frequently accompany this form of breaking the law, was expressed forcibly by a Connecticut judge last week in the trial of a case of bootlegging. "The trade they [the bootleggers] represent drags after it every kind of violence up to murder, bribery and corruption, and the trail of crime leads to your door. You who are supposed to represent propriety, responsibility and social position, what are you but participants in and instigators of crime? If you can choose what laws you will obey, any other man can choose what laws *he* will obey, and if you do that what will become of your country?" The logic is unanswerable. Law breaking encourages law breaking. The public knows that the bootlegging trail stops at nothing, that some of the most dangerous criminals in the country are engaged in the work because of the huge financial rewards it offers. This money comes not from the pockets of the low and degraded outcast class, but from those of the wealthy and respected citizens of the country. Is it not time that public opinion, instead of jeering at and making light of bootlegging, should recognize the menace for what it is and should hold as culpable those who buy from the bootlegger?

Women Insurgents

WHILE on the one hand it is being charged that giving women the vote has made no difference in politics except to double the number of votes cast, women voters in various parts of the country are drawing enraged protests from men politicians for breaking through old established political precedent.

In New Jersey, Mrs. Lillian Feickert, while holding the position of vice-chairman of the Republican State Committee, has criticized the work of the Republican State Legislature and has had the temerity to hold individual Republican members responsible for their action. In an open letter to the New Jersey Woman's Republican Club, she asserted that the Legislature had wasted its time and she promised to make public "legislative promise-keepers and promise-breakers." This is against the rules of the political game as it has been played in the past, which have held that all office holders

belonging to one's own party should be considered as having a monopoly of virtue and wisdom.

In Chicago another precedent was broken when the Women's Roosevelt Republican Club, of which Mrs. Fletcher Dobyns is president, endorsed candidates for Aldermen in the City Council from the sole standpoint of their fitness for the office and without regard for their party affiliations, in the spirit of the law which provides for their non-partisan selection.

The idea that partisan politicians should not interfere in the selection of men for judges or for city administrative offices but that fitness for the work should be the sole consideration has been a theory which men political leaders have rarely put into practice.

In New York City another group, largely women, have broken away from the party machine and have been conducting an insurgent movement in the party primaries, an occurrence so rare in that locality as to be refreshing. These are small instances, but they are significant of a new standard coming into political life, one that makes the political party not the master but the servant of the public and holds it up to certain ideals.

The Danger of Indifference

THERE is a real danger in the weariness of the Washington mess that seems to be creeping over the country. Undoubtedly there has been exaggeration, terrorism, hysteria, and the cruelty of unfounded suspicion; certainly some of the revelations have been made to serve partisan purpose. The temptation is to turn one's back on the whole thing, without trying to make distinctions or to follow the sifting process, and from that to reach the easy conclusion that the investigators are fanatics. It would be a disaster. It is our business to follow through until we understand—not merely the actual facts of the oil leases, as the trial will bring them out; not merely all concrete details on individuals and issues; but to follow through morally too. The deepest issue of all, even beyond that of conservation, is the maintenance of high standards for public officials. Much that has been developed has nothing to do with guilt, but much to do with unfitness. The fact that reports from the country revealed a steady strengthening of the sense that Mr. Daugherty must go, as the limelight showed up his friends, is reassuring. We shall serve the cause of public morality ill if we allow disgust to turn into indifference.

A Coming Battle by Ballot

SPEAKING of what women are doing with their vote, the Woman's National Committee for Law Enforcement is planning to give a demonstration. The women of ten national organizations, with a membership of ten million, are affiliated in an organization already formidable to the politicians—united in a determination to use their votes to put in *"dry" public officials, so long as the Eighteenth Amendment stands.* "Those crusaders who knelt in the snow fifty years ago to pray before saloon doors won prohibition without the vote," said Mrs. Henry W. Peabody, of Boston, chairman of the National Committee. "If we can't keep it with the vote we have failed."

Law enforcement will be brought before all political party conventions this summer through the dry delegates which the committee already has in the field. As the women's issue it will be pushed in pledging candidates for the primaries and the general election. A national convention is to be held April 10-11, sponsored by Mrs. Coolidge, Mrs. Harding, Mrs. Taft, Mrs. Preston, with Mrs. Hoover as Convention Chairman. Before it closes a law enforcement platform will be adopted, and the women will then go forth to battle.

The effort to get women to vote, single-minded, on law enforcement, making that the dominant issue, is one of the most significant phases of the presidential year. Arguments against it are possible—other important issues may be sacrificed to this single issue. But the movement is certainly eloquent of women's realization that law enforcement is fundamental, and tremendously interesting as an experiment in the use of the woman vote.

Ninety Good Years

TWO weeks ago Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, entered his ninety-first year, and not only Harvard but the government, in the person of Chief Justice Taft, took time off to celebrate the birthday of our most eminent educator. Dr. Eliot himself made an address to the Harvard boys, with points that apply quite as well to young women. He urged them to serve democratic government—"the hope of the world"—in every possible way; by sacrifice, for instance, of higher earnings in order to take public office. He recommended marriage early enough so that a young couple might develop together. And he urged a choice of work in which one could really find joy, even if one had to change to discover it.

Dr. Eliot's ninety years are a testimony to his own ability in learning how to live. They hold a long, fine record of sound, balanced achievement, and of a steady devotion to ideals. The country may well be proud of him.

We are glad to have his answer to our questions about woman's use of her vote—on another page—even though he isn't very optimistic about us. With so many changes as may be seen in the perspective of this one man's lifetime there's hope for *any*thing!

Birth Control?

A CONSIDERABLE change has taken place in the public attitude toward the discussion of birth control. Dean Inge—Dean of St. Paul's, London—comments on this in an article quoted by the Information Service of the Federal Council of Churches, and he adds: "It is far better that the question should be frankly considered. It is too late to forbid debate, too late to withhold knowledge. . . . The obvious truth must be recognized that a community which makes itself responsible for the education and maintenance of all who are born within it, must claim and exercise some control over both the quality and the quantity of the new human material for which it will have to provide." He points out the serious consideration which must have enormous weight with anyone who really faces the problem—the fact that the largest families exist among the people least able to support them, least able to give them a proper upbringing. Hence the appalling figures of diseased and defective, of children launched in the world with small chance of any manner of soundness, and the broken health of women. Birth control is already understood except where its effects, at any rate, are most needed.

The subject is enormously controversial, but it is not possible to ignore the necessity of considering it; of finding another way, if one refuses it, to check the evils which it claims to remove. At the moment a bill is before Congress (introduced in the House by Mr. Vaile, in the Senate by Mr. Cummins) legalizing the giving of information about contraception. It is protected by a provision that such information must be certified by no less than five graduate physicians not to be injurious.

Certainly this is a "woman interest." What do women think about it?

What the American Woman Thinks

The Cave Man Complex vs. Woman Suffrage

By

Carrie Chapman Catt

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL has issued a challenge to whom it may concern in the March *Century* through an article with the title, "Is Woman-Suffrage a Failure?" Well, that depends: if one measures the brief experiment in our country by the hypothesis that women are superhuman and therefore in four years ought to have removed the last vestige of disappointment in the one hundred and twenty-five years' experiment in man suffrage, then the conclusion that woman suffrage has been a failure is justified. On the other hand, if one measures the practical results of woman suffrage in operation by the understanding that American women are human, born of American fathers and therefore chained by the laws of inheritance to rise little higher than their dads, woman suffrage is relatively a pronounced success. It may not be strong enough to bring the millennium before its time, but it is going, and steadily, too, along the road of certain progress.

What Delayed Suffrage

The truth is, that there never was but one objection to woman suffrage on the part of men, and that was the "superiority complex of the male." There never was but one objection to their own enfranchisement on the part of women, and that was the "inferiority complex of the female." These states of mind were developed through impressive cooperation of church, state and all customs of society over a period of some thousands of years. The struggle for the vote was not what it appeared on the surface; it was an effort to bring men to feel less superior and women to feel less inferior. That struggle did not end with the grant of the vote. Some men feel as bloated an opinion of themselves and some women as shrunken an opinion of themselves as before 1920. This struggle will go on till every human has come to know that "God created man in his own image and likeness and gave *them* dominion over the earth."

Now comes Mr. Russell, who, despite the fact that he thinks he has conquered his cave man's complex, rises up and whacks women voters because they have not achieved a super-superiority over men. That is the entire case as set forth in his conclusions, which he admits are not necessarily immovable convictions. His wavering mental attitude seems to be caused by seven definite disillusions.

1. Women voters have effected no change except to increase the number of "docile ballot droppers." "Not a boss has been unseated, not a reactionary committee wrested from the old-time control." Said a friend of mine who has been visiting women's political meetings: "The partisan women all seem to me to be acting under orders from nearest male relatives." So thinks Mr. Russell, apparently. Should either visit men's partisan meetings, they would say, "Why, these men, too, act as if under orders—but from whom?" The truth is that partisanship has become fanaticism in this country. Since neither party stands for any issue clearly different from the other party, loyalty has been invoked for a generation through appeals to the organization which goes on existing because it has existed. Why expect women to be free from superstition when men are under its thrall? Men and women are fathers and mothers of each other and neither can rise higher than their source. There is nothing peculiar in the "me, too," attitude of women; the difficulty rests with the fact that the intelligence of the human race, American department, has only developed up to the present manifestations. The cause is not sex; it is party fetish.

Why not whack the cause instead of the effect?

A Million Years vs. Four

There are, however, several rays of promise. Were a congress convened of non-partisans, who belong to no party and vote no one's orders, it would contain about a two-thirds majority of women. Within the parties, during the past four years, little battles, sometimes friendly, sometimes decidedly otherwise, have been in progress and women have won a very creditable share of the victories. Bosses have been unseated and reactionary committees have been wrested from their old-time control and so progress progresses. It has taken a million years for men to climb from their cave-day habit of mind to the present operation of self-government; why not grant women more than four years to remove *all* the unsatisfying outgrowths of men's political evolution?

2. The number of women nominated for high office has been comparatively small and the women candidates elected woefully few, and this despite the fact that women in office have almost invariably given satisfactory service. Politicians have been convinced thereby, so Mr. Russell thinks, that women have not voted and will not vote for women and they no longer in consequence are awed by the women's vote. They have it weighed and measured and as a decisive factor it is found wanting.

Why Women Shun Office

It is true there are not as many women in Congress and the legislatures as there should be (although the number in the legislatures is nearer eighty than the sixty-three of Mr. Russell's count), but the reasons are not those Mr. Russell sets forth. Women are reluctant to become candidates for two important reasons. First, the candidate is likely to be forced to wade through mud to her victory, to make concessions to interests which nauseate her soul and to arrive at the goal with a reputation in tatters. Second, "Why endure this torture," they ask, "when we know in advance that the party which nominates us will knife us at the polls, not by votes of party women, but by men?" In continental Europe, where there are many more women in Parliaments, the explanation is that proportional representation gives women a chance to elect their own sex and they do it. Even in England the freedom of a candidate to stand for any constituency willing to sponsor him has enabled more women to be elected than in our own country. Again the real obstacle is politics, patronage and power.

3. Only 49 per cent of the qualified voters went to the polls in 1920 and by "common report" the greater number of absentees were women. No dependable statistics of the totals of women or men voters in any election are to be had, but so far as gathered, they indicate a decided inaccuracy in Mr. Russell's statement. Instead, 70 per cent of qualified men and 60 per cent of qualified women in the North and West are the average of several elections. In the South, where the Negro vote is suppressed and woman suffrage sentiment less advanced, the per cents are probably lower for both men and women.

If 70 per cent of qualified men vote as the result of a hundred and twenty-five years of man suffrage, stimulated by the whip of the "superiority complex," then when 60 per cent of qualified

women vote, overcoming the "inferiority complex" as a result of four years of woman suffrage, it presents a showing that should make politicians shudder.

4. Returns have "seemed to show that the heaviest balloting by women was for men who had most vigorously opposed their political emancipation." "The last illusion about them (women voters) has gone from the politician's mind." He is convinced that women are the best of "good Indians, obeying the higher ups without question."

Not so Meek as They Look

O, ho, Mr. Russell, you were a Simple Simon when the politicians told you that story. Not one among them is there who does not know that in every instance where a legislator opposed woman suffrage because he was either under control or reactionary minded, party women left him by thousands, but that the vacancies they created were filled and exceeded by the male voters from the other party who deserted their candidate and flew to the support of the "superiority of the male complex." Women are not so docile nor so blind as Mr. Russell's communicators think. They may appear to have buried their contentions, but be assured, as Mrs. Pankhurst once said, they have carefully "marked the spot."

5. "Women in municipal affairs are almost negligible." On the contrary, women have been such a decisive factor in municipal affairs that the testimony of important American men to this effect led Premier Mussolini to promise municipal suffrage to Italian women.

6. "The first disillusion about women came with the Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments." The Conference was their idea, says Mr. Russell, and women brought it about, yet they meekly accepted the concession of a powerless advisory committee and when they saw their idea of general disarmament defeated they merely "crumpled up" under it and went home and did nothing.

It was Senator Borah who introduced a resolution in the Senate which started the ball rolling for the Washington Conference and the women merely backed up the demand by their campaign. The women did not have much share in the conference, to be sure, but even their fruitless "advisory" committee was more recognition than Mr. Borah got. They knew they were knocked and probably Senator Borah knew he was. The responsibility does not seem to belong properly to the women nor to Senator Borah. The women, however, were not "crumpled up"; they were stirred up. There are over seventy peace societies or branches of organizations in this country and the majorities of the supporters are women. These societies are having some difficulty in finding where peace is since they, like men, have been befogged by the misrepresentations of politics, politicians and press. But the will to peace has set in strong among the women and when they find the road, their feet will not be stayed by parties nor politicians. They will move on and ask no one's permission. That is the greatest thing coming. It will not be a campaign but a crusade. Patience, Mr. Russell.

7. Inquiries (by whom made and by whom answered is not mentioned) have brought out a uniform answer and that is "that women in America take virtually no part in politics because they feel they do not know enough about such things." Mr. Russell compares this timid attitude with the self-reliant one of English women who never feel politically ignorant nor timid. The women of England have a powerful advantage over American citizens. They have one Parliament where practically everything is done and where every cabinet member may be questioned through members if one wants to know anything. In this country the well-informed must know the politics of his election district, his ward, his city, his county, his state, his national Congress and then he must add information concerning forty-seven other states. Suppose you are asked: "Do women serve on juries in the United States?" To answer one must know the decisions of courts, opinions of attorney generals, the actions of legislatures, the results of referenda to voters, and what not in forty-eight states. Yes, women do feel ignorant and so do men. Great heavens, the wonder is that we are not all in the insane asylum as the result of the nerve strain we have had trying to know as much as we do. Really, Mr. Russell, you do owe someone an apology. You know very well that every American citizen, including yourself, is overwhelmed by the task of trying to keep up with the news and that our helplessness is due not to the timidity or incapacity of women or men, but to our system.

More Time, Please

In fact, women are engaged in educating themselves in heroic fashion and offer heartening, not disheartening, promise of the "political regeneration" Mr. Russell has been expecting.

In truth, all the disappointment any one may feel about woman suffrage (I am not disappointed myself) is due to one of three things: (1) The unsettled conflict between the complexes; (2) the established flaws in self-government emanating from man suffrage; (3) our governmental or party system.

It took some millions of years for the reptile to drop its tail and grow wings and become a bird (apologies to Mr. Bryan). The bird of self-government has lost its tail and sprouted its wings, but they are only big enough to flutter. Grant a little more time, Mr. Russell, the bird will fly—aye, and if you live long enough you will hear it sing gladsome songs of human freedom.

Who's discouraged? Not I, Mr. Russell.

Spoiled Sons

Here is an experience offered in response to our request for letters from "working wives." For obvious reasons the name is withheld from publication.

I HAVE a triple job—that is, I do office work, my household work, with the aid of a cleaning woman once a week, and I bear the entire spiritual burden of our marriage. The first two jobs can be combined very pleasantly by a healthy woman of average ability—it is the added third job which constitutes the strain.

Very few men realize that a truly successful marriage requires as much thought, patience and ability in working out problems and situations as a successful business. If he loves, as mine does, he thinks the dictates of the heart will suffice. We know better. I give constant thought to the little details, psychological and material, which go to make a pleasant and profitable companionship. He thinks good intentions are sufficient. In other words, while he loves me devotedly, would do anything for me which *he* considered important, he is spoiled; he was spoiled before I ever saw him, and I cannot see myself in the "hard-boiled" rôle of the woman who "unspoils" a man.

I can never count on his cooperation in matters affecting my work. He knows that to maintain our standard of life we need my salary—yet I have to waste my energy in cajolery, insistence, nagging. He fails to take any interest in people simply because I like them, or consider it advantageous to cultivate them. He has a pleasing personality when he chooses, yet when I introduce him I am never sure what sort of an impression he will make—and in my job social and personal attributes happen to count.

You see, it is the age-old complaint reversed. He needs the money I make, yet he takes no interest in the means by which I make it.

If my mother-in-law had done her manifest duty as a mother and a woman she would have gone to work when in early life she found her family hard pressed, instead of allowing a young boy to leave school. And she would have taught her son to bear his share of the spiritual and social load. Instead, she utterly spoiled a sweet-natured, generous boy.

In my opinion a woman can very successfully and happily run both a home and a business (I think even if there are children), when women begin to show some intelligence and conscience in their treatment of their sons.

The Woman Voter

[This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER *for*
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Federal Measures the League Supports

S. 1337-H. R. 3923: Sterling-Reed bill, creating a Department of Education with its head a member of the Cabinet, etc. Proponents of the measure concluded their arguments before the House Education Committee, March 19. Opponents were scheduled to be heard, March 26. Mrs. John Jay O'Connor, chairman of the Child Welfare Committee of the National League, presented the League's support of the measure, in the absence of the education chairman, Mrs. Walter D. Brookings. She said the League had endorsed the principles in the measure at the last four annual conventions.

H. R. 6896: Lehlbach bill, abolishing the Personnel Classification Board and transferring its duties to the United States Civil Service Commission. The House Civil Service Committee, to which the bill was referred, unanimously approved the bill in a report to the House, March 18. The report severely condemned the Personnel Board for its interpretation of the Reclassification Act of 1923.

The status of the following bills is:

Child labor amendment: In both the Senate and House Judiciary Committees. No action has been taken by the Senate committee on the favorable report of its sub-committee.

World Court resolution, embodying the proposals of President Coolidge and the late President Harding, with reservations by Secretary Hughes. In Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

S. 790-H. R. 685: Curtis-Graham women-prisoners' bill. Passed the Senate. On calendar in the House.

S. 2713-H. R. 7450: Capper-Bacon bill providing aid to states for the physical education of children. Referred respectively to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and to the House Committee on Education.

S. J. Res. 15: Jones amendment to the Constitution, providing for suffrage in the District of Columbia. In Senate Judiciary Committee.

S. 1408: Fess amendment to the Smith-Hughes Act, to increase appropriations for home economics. Referred to Education and Labor Committee.

President Coolidge has signed the bill (H. R. 4121) extending the provisions of the Federal Maternity and Infancy Act to Hawaii. Mr. Sutherland, delegate from Alaska, has introduced a bill performing for that territory the same function as the signed bill performs for Hawaii. It has been referred to the Committee on Territories.—ANNE WILLIAMS.

League Publications and Periodicals

EVERY Nebraska candidate for the United States Senate and House, the state supreme and district courts, the state executive offices, and the legislature has received from the Nebraska League a four-page questionnaire. Inside the cover page is a set of questions, the same for all candidates, covering the candidate's age, place of birth, marital status, number of children, kind of education, present and former occupation, present and former political affiliations, elective and appointive offices held, and the final, "Why are you a candidate for office?" The questions on the next page are adapted to the office for which the candidate is running and cover all the measures and legislative principles the National League has endorsed. In the interrogatory for candidates for state office, jury service for women, various tax laws, the short ballot, state police, removal of party circle from ballot, and appropriation of funds for prohibition enforcement, are concerned, but the League's stand at no time made apparent. The candidate is at liberty to reply to some or all of the questions without prompting or suggestion from the League.

The official organ of the West Virginia League, *The West Virginia Voter*, publishes, in its March issue, an excellent skeleton outline for a get-out-the-vote campaign in any town. It has ten different directions and they are: Advertise the calendar of elections; organize a bureau of speakers of election issues; give out information on the correct marking of the ballot, on the qualifications of voters, and the requirements of registration; publish facts regarding the importance, duties, and the power of the offices to be filled; broadcast the significance of using the primary to nominate candidates; expand the issues and platforms of primary and other elections by questions to candidates; arrange meetings at which candidates will present their platforms; collect and give out information on candidates, including qualifications, records, and platforms; publish information on the general and specific issues of the elections, and—the last in large type—organize and conduct a precinct-by-precinct canvass, under block captains, before both primaries and the final elections.

Simplicity is the chief characteristic of the striking new placard or "dodger" the National League is prepared to supply to local and state Leagues for the get-out-the-vote campaign. It is a sheet of glazed paper of good quality, nine by twelve inches in size, with "Vote" printed on it in letters about three inches high and wide enough to be read clear across the street. Sketched lightly back of the word is a locked ballot box with a ballot tucked in the opening in the top. There is sufficient space below the word for any announcement a local League cares to add. The placard as a whole has been highly praised by all who have seen it, as likely to be of great value in reminding the casual observer of the citizen's duty to vote. The price of the sheet is forty-five cents the hundred.

The election calendar which fills a page in the March number of the Illinois League's *Bulletin* will be of great help to Illinois women and may serve as a model for Leagues in other states. It is arranged in four columns, dates in the first, details of registration in the second, explanation of primaries in the third, and in the fourth, statements of what officials will be elected at each election of which the date is given. The opposite page is given up to a chart showing at a glance "An Illinois Political Party and How It Works." This, too, will be of service to women in other states who wish to make the

steps in the nomination of a President "understanded of the people."

Mrs. William G. Hibbard, director of the fourth region for the National League, contributed to the March number of the *Ohio Woman Voter* a paper on direct primaries which is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject. For the same issue Margaret H. Johnson provided an article, "Electing a President," which covers in surprisingly small space the whole procedure. A well-selected reading list adds to the value of the paper. Women who helped in the recent Ohio membership campaign take part in a symposium on "Ways of Winning New Members."

The March number of the *Woman Voter*, published by the Indiana League, has on its front page a charming sketch of an old-fashioned and beautifully proportioned house which is headquarters of the Elkhart League. Mrs. A. H. Beardsley, president of the Elkhart League, presented the mansion to the League and it is likely to be the center not only of League work but of all the civic interest of Elkhart women.

The March number of the *Woman Voter's Bulletin*, published by the Connecticut League, is notable for an article by C.-E. A. Winslow, professor of public health at Yale, on the control of stream pollution in Connecticut, which should be of use in all states having similar problems of water supply. The editorial page offers an excellent leader, "Charity and Politics."

Because it is so simple, so practical, and so comprehensive, the prize article "How to Get Out the Vote," by Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, has been reprinted on a single sheet for the use of Leagues everywhere. Copies can be obtained from national headquarters at forty-five cents the hundred.

The Fifty-Dollar Reference Shelf

THIS is the list, by Miss Agnes Doherty, of St. Paul, Minnesota, which was awarded first prize in the League's competition for the best fifty-dollar and twenty-five-dollar reference shelves. The manuscript gives every evidence of having been prepared with the most painstaking care. The outstanding feature of the winning list is the amount of excellent free material it contains. A wide range of subjects is covered.

I. General Reference Books and Pamphlets

Nation

Statistical Abstract of the United States, 75c; *Statistical Atlas*, $2.50; *Abstract of the* 1920 *Census* (when issued), $1.50.

Federal Executive Departments as sources of information for librarians. *Bureau of Education Bulletin*, 1919, *No.* 74. Washington: Government Printing Office, 25c. *House Manual; Senate Manual; Congressional Directory; The Congressional Record.* From your Senator or Representative without charge.

Reports of Federal departments and bureaus, e. g., Commissioner of Education; Commissioner of Immigration; Civil Service Commission; Federal Trade Commission, etc. Write the various departments. Free.

Bureau of Education. Send for *Bulletin*, 1923, *No.* 32, or later list. List of publications free. Many pamphlets on education; many leaflets on education; *City School Leaflet, No.* 4 (Per cent of municipal funds devoted to schools); *Statistical Circular, No.* 1 (Per capita costs of schools); *Kindergarten Circular, No.* 10 (Some experiments in pre-school education).

Department of Agriculture. Many free bulletins. Send for list. Secretary of Agriculture. *Farmers' Bulletins on Food and Nutrition.*

Department of Labor. Publications of the Women's Bureau. Free. Bulletins: No. 3, *Standards for the Employment of Women in Industry;* No. 12, *The New Position of Women in American Industry;* No. 14, *A Psychological Basis for the Shorter Working Day for Women;* No. 16, *State Laws Affecting Working Women;* No. 27, *The Occupational Progress of Women;* No. 28, *Women's Contribution in the Field of Invention;* No. 30, *The Share of Wage-earning Women in Family Support;* No. 31, *What Industry Means to Women.* Washington: Department of Labor.

Institute of Government Research, Washington: 26 Jackson Place.

Service Monographs of the United States Government; a series of studies by a nonpartisan independent institution. No. 22, *The Women's Bureau.* $1.00.

State

Reports of state departments, boards, commissions. Free. *Legislative Manual* or *Blue Book;* a volume of laws of a legislative session; copies of ballots, bills, calendar, and journal of each house. Free. Maps of states showing representative and senatorial election districts. Free. *The Model State Constitution.* New York: National Municipal League, 25c. Illinois Constitutional Convention. Bulletins. Springfield, 1920. Free.

County

Reports of county officers and boards. Free. Map of the county showing townships or local divisions. Free. Copies of legal blanks, documents. Free.

City

City charter and ordinances. Free. Map of the city showing wards and precincts. Free. Reports of municipal departments. Free. *Financial Statistics of Cities,* Annual. Washington: Government Printing Office. (From your congressman.) Copies of legal blanks, ballots, various town documents. Free. *The Model City Charter.* New York: National Municipal League, 50c.

BYINGTON, M. F. *What Social Workers Should Know About Their Own Communities.* Third ed. rev., 1919. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 10c.

The World Almanac. Annual volume of statistics. New York: The World, 40c.

Summaries of Current Economic and Financial Conditions

1. New York Chase National Bank; occasional bulletins. Gratis.
2. New York Irving Bank-Columbia Trust Company. *Economic Conditions.* (Monthly) Gratis.
3. New York National City Bank. *Economic Conditions.* (Monthly) Gratis.

II. Outlines for Study

DAVIDSON, CHARLES. *Active Citizenship.* New York: Wilson, 1920. 50c.

MOLEY, RAYMOND, in collaboration with HELEN M. ROCCA. *The Outline of Government in the United States.* Washington: National League of Women Voters, 1922. 50c.

III. Social Sciences or Social Studies Including Politics, Economics, Sociology, etc.

BEARD, CHARLES A. *American Government and Politics.* Third rev. ed. New York: Macmillan, 1920. $3.50.

BEARD, CHARLES A. *The Economic Basis of Politics.* New York: Knopf, 1923. 99 p. $1.25.

EDIE, LIONEL D. *Principles of the New Economics.* New York: Crowell, 1922. $2.75.

EDMAN, IRWIN. *Human Traits and Their Social Significance.* School ed. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1920. $2.50.

HAMILTON, WALTON H. *Current Economic Problems.* Rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922. $4.00.

JENKS, J. W., and SMITH, R. D. *We and Our Government.* New York: American View Point Society of Boni and Liveright, 1922. $1.50.

JOHNSON, J. F. *We and Our Work.* New York: American View Point Society of Boni and Liveright, 1922. $2.15.

LIPPMANN, WALTER. *Public Opinion.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1922. $2.75.

MUNRO, WILLIAM BENNETT. *The Government of American Cities.* Rev. ed. New York: Macmillan, 1920. $3.25. (To be included only if the three books listed first may be obtained free.)

NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH. *Income in the*

United States. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1921. $1.25.

OGG, F. A., and RAY, P. O. *Introduction to American Government.* New York: Century Co., 1922. 841 p. $3.75.

RORTY, M. E. *Some Problems in Current Economics.* Chicago: A. W. Shaw, 1922. $1.25.

YOUNG, J. T. *The New American Government and Its Work.* Second ed. rev. New York: Macmillan, 1915. $2.75.

Pamphlets

ANDREWS, J. B. *Labor Problems and Labor Legislation.* New York: American Association for Labor Legislation, 1922. 30c.

CHAFFEE, ZACHARIAH. *Freedom of Speech in War Time.* Cambridge: Dunster House Book Shop. 40c.

DAWSON, EDGAR, editor. *Outlines of Responsible Government.* New York: National Municipal League, 1923. 20c.

FISHER, IRVING. *Bulletin of the Committee of One Hundred on National Health.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909. 15c.

JUDD, C., and MARSHALL, L. C. *Lessons in Community Life.* Series A, 25c; Series B and C, 15c each.

MITCHELL, W. C. *U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Bulletin No.* 284. Washington: Government Printing Office. 5c.

MOLEY, RAYMOND. *Parties, Politics, and People.* Washington: National League of Women Voters, 1922. 35c.

SMITH, R. H. *Justice and the Poor.* Bulletin No. 13. New York: Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Teaching, 1919. Gratis.

IV. Biographical Literature Illustrating the Working of American Government

DODD, WILLIAM E. *Woodrow Wilson and His Work.* New York: Doubleday, Page, 1919. $2.50.

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE. *An Autobiography.* New York: Scribner, 1920. $5.00.

WHITLOCK, BRAND. *Forty Years of It.* New York: Appleton, 1914. $1.50.

V. International Relations: Foreign Policy

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION. *The United States and the Permanent Court of International Justice.* New York: American Association for International Conciliation, May, 1923. No. 186. 5c.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. Documents, Messages of Presidents, etc., No. 17. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Intercourse and Education, 1920. Gratis.

BRYCE, JAMES. *International Relations.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. $2.50.

CURTIS, LIONEL, and KERR, PHILIP H. *America and the International Problem.* No. 183. New York: American Association for International Conciliation, 1923. 5c.

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION. *The Permanent Court of International Justice.* Boston: World Peace Foundation. 15c.

Total, $49.90 (without the three books listed first). Total, $51.40 (without Munroe's *Government of American Cities*).

Twenty-five dollar prize list will appear in the next issue of the WOMAN VOTER.

The Prize Winners

IN the competition for the best fifty-dollar reference library and the best library for half that sum, the winner of the first prize of $40 is Miss Agnes Doherty, of St. Paul, Minnesota. Miss Doherty was graduated from the University of Minnesota and did post-graduate work at Columbia, the University of Chicago, and the University of California. She is a teacher of social sciences in the Central High School of St. Paul and is well known to members of the National Education Association, of which she is a trustee. She was a member of the advisory committee which set the first minimum wage for women in Minnesota, a leader in the movement which secured mothers' pensions in the state, and is reckoned one of the most effective writers and speakers on education and social legislation Minnesota possesses.

The winner of the second prize is Mrs. Gertrude Drury, a native of Vermont, whose home for the past ten years has been St. Louis. She is a librarian in the St. Louis Public Library and her work as a member of the faculty of the St. Louis Library School covers reference, classification, trade bibliography, and library economy. Her training is of the soundest and includes service in the University of Vermont Library, the library of Smith College, the U. S. Bureau of Education, and the U. S. Department of Agriculture library, in addition to the academic training of the New York State Library School at Albany. Mrs. Drury says she was attracted to the contest "because we at the library frequently have calls for just such information as some of the reference works on the list supply." A "useful project" she calls the League's effort to supply the best and most extensive reference library for the least money.

The third prize was awarded to Mrs. John P. Senning, of Lincoln, Nebraska. Mrs. Senning, who was Miss Elizabeth Stone, was born on a farm near Joliet, Illinois, was graduated from the University of Chicago in 1908, winning the master's degree in the next year. For three years she was a librarian in the university library and since her marriage in 1913 she has lived in Lincoln, where her husband is a professor in the political science department of the University of Nebraska and she herself, research assistant in the Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, which is on the university campus.

"Thus, you see," she says, "we have political education with us morning, noon, and night. My dream of political education for women extends so far into the past that I do not know the date of its beginning. The League offered a way by which women might learn the real facts about government and I lost no time in becoming a member as soon as the League was formed in Nebraska."

From 1920 to the autumn of 1922 Mrs. Senning was vice-president of the Lincoln League and has been first vice-president of the state League since the spring of 1921.

Mrs. Harriot T. Cooke, of Orange, New Jersey, winner of the fourth prize, says she would have been a librarian if she had ever "had time from a husband and raising a family of three children to earn a living, or rather, be paid for doing it." She was born in Tennessee and has been a reader all her life, and a suffragist about as long. She cast her first vote in Colorado soon after she was married, and when she came to New Jersey and the suffrage cause was won, she helped organize the League of the Oranges. She was chairman of the Committee on Efficiency in Government for two years, vice-president of the Orange League for two years more, and is now president. In order to fill these positions creditably, she says, it was necessary for her to read everything on civic and political questions that came her way and her list is the result.

The competition judges were: Dr. Edgar Lawson, professor of history and social science at Hunter College, New York City; Miss Linda Eastman, librarian of the Cleveland Public Library; Dr. Raymond Moley, associate professor of government at Barnard College, New York City, and two former vice-presidents of the National League, Mrs. Richard Edwards, of Peru, Indiana, and Mrs. George Gellhorn, of St. Louis, Missouri.

It is to be regretted that for lack of space it has been necessary to omit annotations from Miss Doherty's list.

Peace and Citizenship Schools

"THE United States wants world co-operation and peace, but has not yet learned to make this wish effective," says the Foreword in the program of the three-day "peace school" held March 20-22 under the direction of the New York League and the New York Council for International Co-operation to Prevent War. "A knowledge of facts simplifies the problem, a discussion reveals the issues, and a united opinion is created which in turn will force a practical solu-

tion. Therefore, in this school we are presenting both facts and the best plans for group discussions."

The Foreword adds that the course should be valuable to trained speakers who wish new methods of discussion and to untrained speakers who are willing to learn facts and to impart them.

The school was held at the Y. W. C. A. on Lexington Avenue, and proved so great a success that the organization of similar schools in many parts of the country seems assured. The subject of the morning session of the first day of the school was "Our Foreign Policy in the Western Hemisphere," and the speakers were Mr. S. G. Inman, of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, whose subject was "The Monroe Doctrine and the State Department," and Professor Edward M. Earle, of Columbia University, who spoke on "Economic Imperialism." In the afternoon there was a free and informing discussion led by Mr. Charles Fahs, author of *America's Stake in Europe*.

The morning session of the second day was addressed by Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University, whose subject was "The League of Nations." The afternoon discussion was conducted by Mr. James McDonald, of the Foreign Policy Association.

The third day began with Mr. Frederick Libby's talk, "Disarmament," which was followed by Dr. Frederick W. Roman's address on "Reparation," the two speeches coming under the subject head, "The Immediate Problem." Professor A. D. Sheffield led the afternoon discussion, which was of extraordinary interest and of quite as extraordinary helpfulness to the women who had come to "join the New York peace campaign."

Brown University opened its doors to a United League of Rhode Island school of citizenship which began on April 3 and held its final session April 5. The opening session was devoted to an address of welcome by the president of the university and a discussion of currents and tendencies in American political thinking. The program for Friday morning called for a discussion, "Where the Voter Comes In," led by Professor Clifford Hubbard, of Brown, followed by Professor Elizabeth Donnan, of Wellesley, with a talk on the make-up and workings of the national political conventions.

The afternoon session began with an address by former State Senator Herbert Sherwood, "Legal Rights of Women," which was followed by a discussion, by Professor Arthur Holcomb, of Harvard, on the growth of democracy as shown in state constitutions. Other speakers and their subjects announced in the program are: Professor Alfred Steiner, Grinnell College, "The Foreign-Born as a Factor in National Politics"; Professor Paul Gerber, of Brown, "The United States and Mexico," and Miss Ruth Morgan, National League of Women Voters, "The State Department and the Monroe Doctrine."

Miss Mary B. Anthony was chairman of the committee which had general charge of arrangements for the school.

Writing to tell of the institute of government and politics, held in St. Louis March 11-13 by the St. Louis League and Washington University in co-operation, Mrs. George Gellhorn, who was program chairman, says: "The institute ended with expressions from all sides that it had been an unqualified success and must become at least an annual institution. The total number to attend, either through holding course tickets or having bought tickets for several of the sessions, runs to something over one thousand. At the banquet meeting and the speaking after the banquet there were six hundred. Mrs. Pinchot made a most eloquent appeal for active participation by the women in politics, international and domestic. Private Peat was emphatic and vivid in the exposition of his subject. When Judge Mary Bartelme spoke we turned away hundreds who wanted to hear her. Tell Rhode Island we have used them as our measuring rod and we hope we have come up to their standard of attendance."

The Cincinnati League held a one-day school of politics and government at the Hotel Gibson, March 20, with Mrs. R. C. McGrane as presiding officer. At the morning session, Professor N. J. Ware, of the University of Louisville, made "The Psychology of Politics" the subject of an interesting address, and was followed by Professor C. O. Gardner, of the University of Cincinnati, whose topic was "Presidential Primaries." Miss Belle Sherwin, first vice-president of the National League and head of the Department of Efficiency in Government, explained the National League program and Miss Emily Kneubuhl, director of political education for the Cincinnati League, discussed plans for getting out the vote.

League institutes of government and politics have been arranged for three districts of Minnesota, with the co-operation of Teachers' College of the University of Minnesota. The plan decided on for the three follows the arrangement which proved so successful in the institute held in Minneapolis last autumn. Two or three subjects of general interest are to be developed by means of lectures and round tables. The first institute was held at St. Cloud, March 20-21; the second at Winona, March 27-28, and the third is set for April 9-11, in Duluth. It is planned to hold other institutes until every district of the state has had its school.

Chattanooga (Tennessee) had a citizenship school, March 27-28, conducted by Miss Helen Rocca, of the National League Department of Efficiency in Government, with the assistance of Miss Marguerite Woolley, secretary of the third region. Among the lecturers on the program were Mrs. George F. Milton, of Chattanooga; Mrs. Solon Jacobs, second vice-president of the National League; Mrs. Minnie Alison Welch, of Sparta, president of the Tennessee W. C. T. U., and Mrs. R. E. Cooke.

The Connecticut League announces a school of citizenship to be held at Middletown, May 15-17, with the co-operation of Wesleyan University. Because this is the year of a presidential election, the general subject of the school will be "National Politics." Topics to be discussed include national political parties, immigration, Congress and taxation, the tariff and living costs, education from the Federal end, and international affairs.

League Women and League Work

WHEN delegates of the United League of Rhode Island return from the National League convention in Buffalo they will set to work at once on another of their successful membership drives, which will be carried on from May 6 to May 16. The goal is 2,000 new members and the League expects to enroll women in factories and stores, women on farms, and women in village, town, and city homes. Mrs. Beverly Lake is commander-in-chief and the forces she heads will be organized into squads with corporals in charge of them. Mrs. Raymond F. Wolcott's work will be to arrange for appeals in churches, guilds, societies and mass meetings. Miss Alice W. Hunt will have inspirational features" as her part, and already League headquarters in Providence is displaying an "ivy chain" of workers growing from the "Victory Plant of League Loyalty" to make methods of the campaign clear.

THE Cambridge (Massachusetts) League held an exceedingly interesting international meeting late in February. Six foreign countries—England, France, Russia, India, China, and Japan—were represented by guests, and each guest gave an informal talk on the political status of women in her own country. Miss Sarah Wambaugh added to the interest of the occasion by a talk on women who are serving on some of the committees of the League of Nations, and the work they are doing.

THE librarian of the Bakersfield (California) Public Library provides a shelf of books and pamphlets dealing with phases of League work, for the benefit of the recently organized League there. She will also help League work by lending literature for readers in other parts of the county.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

For Peace and Freedom

HERE is a "first," which, for once, is not a pioneer step by a lady. For the first time since its organization in 1915, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom will meet in America. May 1 to 7 is the date and Washington the place—the occasion is the Fourth Biennial Congress. Austria, China, Japan, India, New Zealand, Czechoslovakia, the Ukraine, Holland, France, England, Italy, Bulgaria, Sweden and Germany will be represented. Jane Addams, president of the League, will preside. Among the notable women who will attend the Congress are: Mme. Marcelle Capy, Gabrielle Duchene and Andree Jouve, from France; Lucie Dejardin, from Belgium; Yella Hertzka, from Austria; Mme. Ramondt-Hirshmann and Dr. Aletta Jacobs, from Holland; Dr. Ida Vassalini, from Italy; Vilma Glucklich, from Switzerland; Dorothy Evans, Kathleen Courtney and Miss Picton-Turbervill, from England; Gertrud Baer, Dr. Anita Augsburg and Lida Gustava Heymann, from Germany, and Hiro Ohashi, from Japan. Delegates will tour the United States immediately after the Congress, holding mass meetings in cities where the League has branch organizations. The general subject under consideration will be a New International Order.

A one-day conference of the United States section of the League precedes the Congress.

Women in French Academies

MME. ANNIE MURRAY DIKE is the third woman to be admitted to a French Academy. Three months ago Mrs. Dike was elected to the Academy of Agriculture, the first woman to enter, and on March 5 she was formally received. The other French Academies that have opened their doors to women are the Academy of Fine Arts, which has admitted the Queen of Rumania, and the Academy of Medicine, which claims Mme. Curie as a member.

Studies Tropic Life

ISABEL COOPER—the interesting person who was the subject of Mildred Adams's "Jungle Lady" in the March 25, 1922, CITIZEN—has sailed on another expedition to British Guiana to study tropic animal life in its own home. She is official artist with the Tropical Research Station of the New York Zoological Society under Mr. William Beebe.

Miss Cooper is responsible for the beautiful scenic water colors in Mr. Beebe's new book, *Galapagos*.

Suffrage Progress

IN South Africa, the women's enfranchisement bill passed its second reading in the House of Assembly, Cape Town, by fifty-four votes against forty-eight.

On the Island of Jersey

WOMEN may now be elected to the local legislative assembly on the island of Jersey in the English Channel—so we learn from the *Vote*. Though suffrage was granted to Jersey women in 1919, women's nominations were refused at the last election. This is the second Channel island to recognize women—Miss M. L. Randall having only recently been elected to represent the town of St. Peter Port on the island of Guernsey.

"Lady Sheriff"

WISCONSIN has its first woman sheriff. She is Mrs. Daniel Leonard, of Antigo, who was appointed to fill the unexpired term of her late husband.

In Cook County

MRS. W. E. BEMIS, Cook County's first and only woman commissioner, is now chairman of the Civil Service Committee of the Board of Commissioners.

In the League of Nations

DR. ALICE HAMILTON, one of our contributing editors, and assistant professor of Industrial Medicine at Harvard, has been appointed a member of the permanent health organization of the League of Nations. Our information comes from the *Medical Woman's Journal*.

Candidates

BOTH Pennsylvania and California have more women looking toward the state legislature. Mrs. Ruth E. Fillmore is candidate from the Seventh District of Pittsburgh. Mrs. J. J. Suess comes from Monte Vista, California, and is running for nomination on the Republican ticket for member of the Assembly.

Kentucky's Secretary

ACCORDING to the *Legislative Counsellor*, Mrs. Emma Guy Cromwell was recently elected Kentucky's state secretary.

Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay

FLORIDA women write us that they want it distinctly understood that Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay visited their state as well as Cuba; and Georgia and North Carolina may be heard from next, since the visitors have stopped in Savannah and in Southern Pines, coming north with the spring. In each of the Florida cities they visited they were entertained splendidly by women's clubs and other organizations, and both spoke repeatedly.

Y. W. C. A. Convention

THE Eighth National Convention of the Y. W. C. A. is set for the week, April 30 to May 5, at the Hotel Commodore, New York. Three thousand women are expected. The Rev. Richard Roberts of Montreal is to be the principal speaker. Simultaneously with the large meeting, three assemblies of the largest membership groups in the Association—the Student Assembly, the Business Assembly and the Industrial Assembly—will hold independent meetings and discussions, and time will be arranged for them to place their problems before the delegates.

It was eighteen years ago that the first National Y. W. C. A. convention was held in New York.

"Naming" Hospital Beds

IN the Royal Free Hospital, London, there is a ward named "Washington," in compliment to Americans. This was done at the request of the American Women's Club in London, and now Dr. May Thorne, representing the hospital (and long associated with it), is here to see if the twelve beds and the twelve cots that the ward contains cannot each be named after a famous American woman and another bond of national friendship formed. She would like to begin with the name of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, and for a very good reason. Because, in 1877, when the Royal Free Hospital opened its doors to women medical students (the first in the United Kingdom to do so) of the only two women qualified to practice medicine and surgery one was Dr. Blackwell. She had received her training in Geneva University, New York, and was practicing in London. The other woman was Miss Elizabeth Garrett, who held the Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries, London. Besides famous American women, American colleges or towns are eligible to name the cots or beds that will help care for the needy of Lon-

don's poor mothers and babies—yes, "Washington" is a maternity ward. (English hospitals, by the way, have as yet no private wards where rich people pay large sums—they are cared for only in private nursing homes.) To name a cot in perpetuity costs $2,000, a bed $6,000; to endow either costs $6,500 and between $18,000 and $20,000 respectively. The Royal Free Hospital has a claim on women's interest not only for its fine work, but because for years it was the only hospital in the United Kingdom where women could receive a medical education.

An American committee is being organized, and Mr. John William Davis, former Ambassador to England, has promised to be a member.

SPEAKING of conventions, we take occasion to mention once more that the National League of Women Voters holds its annual convention at Buffalo, April 25-29, with a highly interesting program, including several governors and prominent Washington officials.

Mrs. Kenney

ANOTHER of the elder suffragists is gone. Mrs. Lilla Jewell Kenney died last month in Washington. Despite her seventy years Mrs. Kenney attended the international suffrage convention at Rome last year with her two daughters, Mrs. Donald C. Godwin, and Mrs. Izetta Jewell Brown, who is seeking the nomination for United States Senator from West Virginia.

General Federation Notes

By Lessie Stringfellow Read

LOS ANGELES is all a-tip-toe about the big Biennial to be held there June 2-13. This hostess-ship of California will mark the third time the state has entertained the General Federation and Los Angeles' second experience as hostess city.

A PERMANENT "home-making center" will be maintained in connection with the General Federation Headquarters, 1734 N Street, N.W., Washington, according to an announcement made by Miss Lida Hafford, director. It is to be established in the tea house, which is a part of the Federation plant, and operated by Mrs. Frances Carter. Everything will be most modern; a score or more of manufacturers having equipped the house with gifts totaling nearly $5,000. Among some of the enticing devices to be found is the individual table stove, giving all the fun of making one's own waffles or toast. Lectures on various phases of homemaking will be given by experts from time to time, and every effort will be made to make this a practical and helpful home center.

A FILM including the Better Homes idea for Negroes, picturing living conditions as they are and as they can be, was recently shown at one of the large theaters in Atlanta, Georgia, coincident with the showing in that city of the Better Homes film. Mrs. Alonzo Richardson, president Atlanta Better Films Committee, writes that the film ran at one of the Negro theaters two weeks, and "the opinion is that there has never been a more constructive piece of work done."

THE women's clubs in Southern Pennsylvania are meeting by radio each Thursday afternoon. They are taking turns at broadcasting, the first program being that of the New Century Club of Chester. Nature clubs, garden clubs, study clubs, political groups are all in line to be heard. The Montgomery County Federation, which is especially well organized, gave a special treat on one afternoon by holding a club institute.

A "HALF WAY HOUSE" for children has been established in Birmingham, Alabama, by the Junior League, a federated club of about three hundred young girls and matrons. It is here that the children spend their days from the time of dismissal from the Juvenile Court until a home is found for them. The League employs competent matrons, nurses, dietitians, and operates the house at a cost of about $5,000 a year. It has secured scholarships for two girls who are now in industrial schools.

THE twenty-ninth annual convention of the Alabama Federation of Women's Clubs will be held in Montevallo, Alabama, beginning Tuesday evening, April 8, and lasting through noon Friday, April 11.

A NATION-WIDE movement which should result in complete reorganization of the prison labor system throughout the country within the next five years is foreseen by Miss Julia Jaffray, New York, chairman on institutional relations in the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Miss Jaffray writes that the action of the General Federation at its Atlanta council in the resolution which was adopted made a very deep impression on the American Federation of Labor, and was reprinted in its annual report.

Washington

(*Continued from page 7*)

government. We need a progressive coordination; to know what we want; to study candidates and issues minutely. It would be hard for women voters to be any more undecided than are men at this juncture. But it would be comparatively easy for women to find out exactly where they stand upon pending questions and candidates; and such an opinion would be of the greatest value, particularly at this stage of the campaign. Study and deliberation in these preliminary months are of many times the value of the same amount of concentration later on. The whole campaign is formative now. After it is set, all kinds of furious battering and objection can go on and little impression will be made. Issues and presidential candidates have been doubling up at an extraordinary rate lately. Democratic candidates are numerous and of all shades of conviction.

Your correspondent would leave with you in this letter the following table of pending issues in the present political situation. It is by no means a slate of just what may be presented at the nominating conventions. But it will form a basis for preliminary study and deliberation.

DOMESTIC ISSUES

Agriculture

Do you favor federal aid for agriculture, i. e., by federal corporations for marketing of grain to foreign countries, or for the purchase of surplus wheat, or help for cooperative marketing associations?

The only other answer to the agricultural situation is a gradual readjustment of supply and demand and reversion to pre-war production and, to some extent, pre-war prices, with decreased planting and a lessening of the extreme pressure put upon the industry during the war for extra expenditures and high living costs. In this view might properly come such relief as further extension of farm credits and reduction of freight rates, as distinct from paternalistic aid in the form of federal selling corporations, and so on.

Railroads

The basic principles of government control and operation versus private responsibility will be found in many of the pending questions. It is fundamental in the railroad problem. The government, as a result of the war, is now heavily involved in railroad finances, but the melancholy situation exists that the public is not getting proper service in freightage or transportation, and the railroads are not attracting the investment of capital to an extent enabling them to develop or adequately support themselves. The division of re-

sponsibility between government and railroads obviously has been a failure.

Two courses are open. Cut off government patronage and responsibility and make the railroads entirely self-reliant, or provide out-and-out government control and responsibility. Subdivisions of responsibility under these two great principles have been what have made the intricate and unworkable mess in which the whole transportation problem is involved. For instance, by legislation we have suggested that the railroads consolidate into large systems. They did not accomplish it. So the proposition is now to change the Transportation Act so that they eventually will be compelled to consolidate, which again belongs to the realm of government control. If the government compels the railroads to make substantial freight rate reductions, that again is government control. If the Esch-Cummins Act is continued mainly in its present form that would merely continue the unsuccessful division of responsibility therein provided. The country has gradually drifted into a kind of government control which is more inclusive than many realize. The Interstate Commerce Commission has powers which make it extremely hard for railroads to follow any individual program. But the government has refrained from taking the additional step of assuming the responsibility. The British experience in government operation of railroads should be a help to conclusions.

Prohibition

Study the course of great national reforms, whose dangers have been not in the period of initiation but in the second stage, the application, through which prohibition is now passing. Powerful factors are being employed here to nullify prohibition. It is in far greater danger now than it was before the constitutional amendment was ratified. The present wave of political extravagance and do-as-you-please has broken down the moral aspect of prohibition. Congress is full of bills for the "liberalization" of the Volstead Act, meaning more alcoholic beer, wines, and greater state option in the matter. Moreover, the drive is not led by working people but by those who find it expensive and a nuisance to keep their large private supplies in order. Prohibitionists have countered in Congress by urging that even the industrial alcohol industry be kept under the prohibition unit of the Internal Revenue Bureau, and by violent opposition to the proposals for changing the alcoholic content prescribed by the Volstead enforcement act. Rigid enforcement under civil service of present laws is the prohibition position. Anti-prohibitionists are pointing to the Congressional investigation of the Internal Revenue Bureau and what may be gross misuse of federal authority and lax enforcement as proof of the impossibility of any enforcement of prohibition.

Tariff and Taxation

Consideration of the success of the Fordney-McCumber tariff law, which now has had a fair operative test. Under it, it will be remembered, the President is the nominal head of a Tariff Commission which has authority to adjust rates upon petition according to its judgment, and which is the agency for carrying out the so-called flexible tariff principle incorporated in the new law. This principle is on trial. The opposite contention has been the English policy of free trade, or, at least, a tariff for revenue only, which takes no account of the factor of so-called protection for domestic industries in tariff schedules.

Both Republican and Democratic parties agree that there ought to be some reduction of taxation. The specific plan, whether following the recommendation of Secretary Mellon or Representative Garner, will undoubtedly be decided by the present Congress. The Mellon principle is the release of capital from high surtaxes so that the resulting moneys may be applied to investment which will be turned to industrial development throughout the country. The Garner theory is the continuance of high surtaxes and the lessening of the taxation of smaller incomes, believed to bring relief to a greater number, people who receive moderate incomes.

Bonus for ex-Soldiers

The issue is clear. Some states have voted and will pay a state bonus. In addition, should the federal government grant one? The present bonus bill, which has been passed by the House and is now in the Finance Committee of the Senate, where it has been struggling with the tax bill for preferment, gives former service men a bonus in the form of insurance certificates. It has been estimated that it will cost $2,119,000,000, but since the announcement of this figure doubts have been cast that the cost could be kept as low as this.

Education

A federal Department of Education, for which bills have been before Congress for several years.

Army and Navy

Further disarmament. Strict adherence to the letter and spirit of the disarmament treaties enacted during the Harding administration. Regulation and development of aircraft and air mail.

Immigration

Shall the United States adopt, as a permanent policy, further restriction of aliens or the "open door" of a national asylum? If there is to be greater restriction than ever, which is proposed in the immigration bill now before Congress, there arises the question of keeping strict account of immigration, for instance, by requiring the registration of all aliens in this country, and the ad-

In Congress

THE House during the fortnight has attempted to proceed with the regular appropriation measures with frequent interruptions for reaction from the numerous investigations. The Senate has been debating constitutional amendments. By far the largest portion of the time of members of both houses has been taken up in the hearing rooms. Legislative progress of interest has been as follows:

Introduced in the Senate

By Senator McLean, Connecticut, bill extending the provisions of the national bank act to the Virgin Islands.

Senator Sheppard, Democrat, bill authorizing the Federal Farm Loan Board to increase loans.

By Senator Walsh, Massachusetts, Democrat, bill authorizing pensions for blind or partly blind children of persons who served in the Civil War.

By Senator Keyes, Republican, bill defining the rights of alien administrators in bringing action in Federal courts.

By Senator Curtis, Republican whip, farm relief legislation chartering an interstate farm marketing association and providing a loan of $10,000,000 to such a body.

By Senator Fletcher, Democrat, bill appropriating $38,000,000 for the completion of public buildings already authorized.

Passed by the Senate

Resolution calling for the impeachment of Clarence C. Chase, son-in-law of Albert B. Fall. Mr. Chase was Collector of Customs at El Paso.

Voted to certify Harry F. Sinclair, who refused to testify before the Senate Oil Investigating Committee, to the District of Columbia court for contempt. Senator Elkins, Republican, West Virginia, cast the only opposing vote.

Deficiency appropriation bill which previously had been passed by the House.

Resolution by Senator Walsh, Montana, Democrat, requesting the Secretary of War to furnish full information regarding the sale of arms to the Mexican government.

Introduced in the House

By Representative Treadway, Republican, resolution calling for action regarding a speech by Senator Caraway, Democrat, alleged to have improperly criticized the House and the Speaker.

By Representative Kindred, Democrat, New York, resolution for an investigation of the prohibition unit of the Internal Revenue Bureau.

By Representative Ashwell, Democrat, bill creating a farm marketing association of national cooperative marketing bodies, to be headed by an interstate board in Washington.

Passed by the House

Resolution for an extensive investigation of the aircraft industry and the army, navy and mail air services.

Resolution of Representative King, Illinois, for an investigation of the duplication of government bonds at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

Resolution by Representative Fish, New York, appropriating $10,000,000 for the relief of women and children of Germany.

Legislation covering the appropriation for the support of the navy.

Voted to request the President to move for another conference on limitation of naval armaments. Discussed in connection with the naval appropriation bill.

Legislation providing for soldiers bonus on the basis of insurance certificates, by a vote of 355 to 54.

Legislation authorizing the expenditure of $7,500,000 for improvement of roads in national parks.

visability of inaugurating a system of examination of immigrants at the European or other foreign sources, in an endeavor to prevent transportation of aliens ineligible to admission under the American laws.

Labor

The constitutional amendment now pending in Congress to regulate child labor in industry. This needs continued support and encouragement. Another labor issue, the functioning of the present Railroad Labor Board, is one of the reasons for the strenuous opposition to the present Transportation Act on the part of progressives and others.

It was created by Senator Cummins and Representative Esch, authors of the Esch-Cummins Act, with the hope that it would meet the entire labor difficulty in the railroad industry. Witnesses have testified over and over again that it is a failure. Yet there remains the question—is it better than nothing? Another plank in a labor platform is the prospect of the problem of the coal mines still hanging fire, and this involves the fundamental principle referred to above of private versus government control and operation.

Shipping

Shall there be a paternalistic policy of government control, operation and subsidy for American shipping? Some interests would separate control and operation, and federal subsidy for the merchant marine with the argument that federal subsidy and encouragement should be given to private operation.

Conservation

If the country is to profit by the exhaustive oil investigations a new conservation policy must result. President Coolidge already has appointed a commission to go to the oil fields and report upon the actual condition of the nation's supply. Oil is only a part of a real conservation program. The country has not been thoroughly aroused to the extent to which the natural resources are becoming depleted since the Roosevelt Administration.

An important and proper subject for study in this connection is whether or not the Ku Klux Klan should be dignified by being made an issue in the next campaign.

The group of voters who know most clearly and logically where they stand upon the main points in the above tentative outline will be by far in the strongest position in pre-election politics.

Foreign Relations

What has the League of Nations accomplished to date? Authoritative sources will reveal an astonishingly large number of results along humanitarian and social lines—not so much in the political field, although the work of the League in the economic restoration of central Europe, for instance Hungary, has been notable. Has the United States been more effective in the capacity of "unofficial observer" and participant in the numerous economic conferences; for instance, the present assistance being given to the settlement of the Memel dispute, than she would have been as a member of the League? Should the Republican Party be held to its promise of membership for the United States in the World Court, and would development of the principle of the Four-Power Treaty be one way out of our isolation from world affairs? To what extent, in this connection, is the United States responsible for the economic collapse of Europe, for the condition of German women and children, for which the House has just voted a $10,000,000 relief; to what extent are we a factor in the money crises of Germany and France, with the distress at the fall of the mark and franc?

What about Russia, and the continuance of the Hughes policy of non-recognition? What about the sale of arms and ammunition to governments engaged in or contemplating war? What is public sentiment regarding the cancellation of foreign war debts to the United States, or is it a better square deal to proceed with refunding and settlements, as have been begun with Great Britain and smaller nations?

Of course, many of these subjects are attended by complications and economic problems beyond the grasp of the ordinary voter, man or woman. So must it always be. Perhaps one male voter out of one thousand knows the attendant conditions surrounding any issue. We do the best we can, having taken every opportunity for discussion and study. If every participant in the coming elections had gone that far, nothing short of a miracle would take place at that time. Neither party in Washington today can see through the trees of the small and revolting things which are uppermost. Conservation is not being discussed, but oil scandal. Reduction of taxation is almost superseded by the question of who will win, Secretary Mellon or the House. Policies are not paramount apparently, but men are —whether it is to be Coolidge, La Follette, McAdoo, Hiram Johnson or one of about twenty others.

Beginning in the next issue—a series of studies of presidential candidates, by Mrs. Stokes and others. Mrs. Stokes's first subject is President Coolidge.

The Bookshelf

By M. A

THREE books portray the self-consciousness of young America; self-conscious in the sense of youth making discoveries about itself, taking time to get acquainted, comparing, remembering very recent childhood, and questioning the future.

"Interpreter's House" is Struthers Burt's brilliant novel of modern New York, and modern America. Its plot is the story of young Gulian Eyre, son of a wealthy and philosophic father, something of a poet with words and more with thoughts and feelings. He comes home from years in Europe with a curiosity about his country's life since the war, and a personal longing for some sort of growth and permanency. Through a series of vivid incidents which have to do with such fundamentals as death, divorce, and financial disaster, he reaches the point where "he was beginning to get his life under control, to direct it instead of having it direct him, and he was beginning to realize the satisfaction that lies in that fact." And although that is the end of the book, no one doubts that it is the beginning of the man Gulian Eyre.

Mr. Burt seems to say by implication that it is also the beginning of an adult nation, and that America is just about reaching that point. The book is full of observations and deductions which one wants to mark, for its author has an eye for beauty and unseen values, and the ability to take things apart and put them together in arresting combinations. It is the first novel of a short story master, and it suffers from a kind of jerkiness which gives the impression of a group of short stories strung together with wordiness in the stringing. But these faults are small compared with the sense of greatness which marches through the whole book.

"So Big" is Edna Ferber's new novel, of such a character that only by great exercise of will power can one refrain from the pun which would make its description out of its name. It is an historical novel, in that it begins in the very young Chicago of 1885, and grows with the growth of an "incredibly Dutch" truck-farming section to the south of the city. But it is much more the story of the growth of Selina Peake, whose gambler father taught her that "life's just one grand adventure. The more kinds of people you see, the more things you do, the more things that happen to you, the richer you are. Even if they're not pleasant things, that's living." And through school teaching, being an unlucky farmer's wife, doing her own efficient farming, she remembered

Interpreter's House, Scribner, 1924. $2.00.
So Big, Doubleday Page, 1924. $2.00.
New Hampshire, Holt, 1923. $2.50.

and lived his philosophy. But she failed when she tried to pass it on to her son, and that is the tragedy of the book.

Miss Ferber is another short story master who has turned novelist, and her skill with the latter form is of high order. Fine as it is, this book has the sense of growth, and the promise of greater work in the future.

Robert Frost's *"New Hampshire, a Poem with Notes and Grace Notes,"* seems to be the state itself, with its people, its hills, its myths and its morals. There were folk who predicted that Frost was "written out," that his lucid style, innate rhythms, and hard, clear simplicity had nothing else to say. But those are the same people who think that all New England looks alike, who do not know the infinite variety in those small states, the local character, the startling contrasts which occur within short distances. This book is New Hampshire, and it has all those things. Humor and friendliness, sharp bitterness of grudging speech, meanness, and love of beauty, singing words, and mouth-quirking quaintness. And being New Hampshire, it is an integral and ancestral part of that America which has grown so much wider, and perhaps not so deep.

Making Garbage Respectable

(*Continued from page* 13)

and ashes are liabilities to the neighborhood; and flies, rats and cockroaches are plagues due to be added. However, Seattle has turned many gullies and ravines into playgrounds and building sites, and reports that she has accomplished this without nuisance.

I believe this method, at its best, is feasible for any city, large or small, having land spaces to fill, provided that in cold climates filling is never so rapid as to leave garbage permanently below the frost line before it has had time to oxidize; otherwise, future excavation will produce a great nuisance. Also, good drainage is indispensable, and filling *must* be done in even layers and covered *every day*.

Incineration, or burning garbage in a specially constructed furnace, or "destructor," with forced draft, using the city's combustible waste as fuel. Ashes, especially domestic ashes, because of our wasteful methods of burning coal, usually have considerable fuel value. To be practical this method demands: (1) Collection of ashes and all combustible waste, as well as garbage, at one call, preferably in a light motor truck, or a special type of rather light and roomy cart which may be drawn by horses, or, if route is level or down grade, by a single horse. (2) Utilizing the resulting slag or clinker. This, broken to the size of crushed stone, is the ideal covering for sanitary fills. Slag is also fine material for road and sidewalk construction. (3) Utilization of excess steam. Part can be used for the forced draft of the incinerator; part for crushing the slag. Incinerators should be located where the excess steam can be used at the municipal pumping station, as in Savannah, or as an adjunct to some heating or lighting plant.

Among the advantages of incineration are—that it is the most sanitary of all methods; that destructors can be located anywhere without nuisance; that a temperature of 2000° or more can be reached in the combustion chamber in which dead horses and other animals (a big problem in a big city) can be incinerated without nuisance; and that the slag and excess steam can offset part of the expense.

Seattle, which at the time of my survey operated three destructors, using the crushed clinker for cover in the sanitary fills, but *not utilizing the excess steam beyond its own plant,* has given up all incineration on account of expense. I question the wisdom of this step especially since I am informed that dead "horses and cows are sold for what salvage the person buying can get out of them," a practice to be regarded as most dangerous to public health. At least one destructor would seem to be a sanitary necessity for any large city unless animal carcasses are disposed of by contract to a responsible rendering establishment.

It is undeniable that garbage, especially American garbage, contains a substantial recoverable value which is largely or wholly destroyed by any of the methods described. Many people feel that it is wrong to burn or bury it. Two alternatives exist: Feeding; and Reduction for recovery of the fats and chemicals.

Feeding is an ancient and much discredited method. Nevertheless, carried out under unified, expert and permanent management, it seems to be making good in quite a number of American cities. Worcester was the first to demonstrate it with a large municipal piggery, still after twenty-five years in successful operation; sometimes making money; sometimes encountering a deficit. Denver and Grand Rapids each do their own garbage collection and end municipal expense in placing the garbage on board train for a contract company which ships it many miles away. Expert veterinary and bacteriologic service is maintained at these great hog ranches; all pigs are immunized to hog cholera soon after birth, else this means of disposal might be obliterated in one swift epidemic. The feeding method, contrary to the general idea, is not as well suited to the small city which cannot afford the expense of necessary supervision in health and sanitation. Many cities have tried feeding on a large scale and have abandoned it for one or more of the following reasons: Very long and expensive haul; difficulty of preventing sale of hotel and restaurant garbage to outside scavengers (hotel men often strenuously oppose municipal collection); epidemics among hogs, difficulty in sorting out injurious foreign matter in garbage, including citrus fruit, tin cans, broken tumblers, trichinous rats, parts of diseased meat carcasses, to say nothing of soap powder, lye, glass or incandescent bulbs and phonograph needles, much more easily felt than seen!—and nuisance-abatement suits brought by township officers and others.

Until about a decade ago the one great objection to garbage reduction was that it created an intolerable nuisance and as such must be so far removed from the city that the length of haul more than counterbalanced the value of the product. However, a new process has been developed by which garbage is dehydrated, de-greased and de-chemicaled entirely in sealed tanks with condensers. It is claimed that no nuisance is caused even in thickly populated regions. Columbus was the first city to make a notable success with reduction. New Bedford, Los Angeles and Rochester are among the cities which have the system in operation with short hauls and a material reduction in cost of garbage disposal. This system does not allow home-wrapping of garbage and leaves ashes and general rubbish out of account; but it does take care of dead animals.

However, it cannot be too strongly

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emphasized that the general overhead expense of this method and the amount of scientific supervision required are altogether too great for the small city. *Reduction would be a costly mistake for any city under about* 100,000.

In conclusion: I am personally of the opinion that for the majority of cities with filling spots and less than 100,000 population, a combination of sanitary fill and destructor is best. For those well over 100,000 I would add to this combination a modern reduction plant operated, if possible, by excess steam from the destructor. I would duplicate this combination as often as necessary to meet the needs of the city.

However, each city must be studied as a separate problem. Do not let *your* city leap before it looks, which is chiefly responsible for present widespread unsatisfactory conditions.

There is surely no greater challenge to women's housekeeping knack and experience than this disgracefully unsettled problem of a city's garbage. I believe, moreover, that there exists a great field for professionally trained women as sanitary inspectors and municipal sanitary engineers and as health officers, to the end that our cities may be brought to approximate the order and wholesomeness of a well-kept home.

Spoils or Civil Service?

(*Continued from page* 10)

"This civil service law," he says, "is the biggest fraud of the age. It is the curse of the nation. There can't be no real patriotism while it lasts. How are you going to interest our young men in their country if you have no offices to give them when they work for their party?

"This is an awful serious proposition. Free silver and the tariff and imperialism and the Panama Canal are trifling issues when compared to it. We could worry along without any of these things, but civil service is sapping the foundation of the whole shooting match. Let me argue it out for you. I ain't up on sillygisms, but I can give you some arguments that nobody can answer.

"First, this great and glorious country was built up by political parties; second, parties can't hold together if their workers don't get the offices when they win; third, if the parties go to pieces, the government they built up must go to pieces, too; fourth, then there'll be h—— to pay.

"Could anything be clearer than that? Say, honest now, can you answer that argument? Of course, you won't deny that the government was built up by the great parties. That's history and you can't go back of the returns. As to my second proposition you can't deny that either. When parties can't get offices, they'll bust. They ain't far from the bustin' point now, with all this civil service business keepin' most of the good things from them. How are you goin' to keep up patriotism if this thing goes on?"

And that the spoils system does stimulate a certain type of individual to political activity few will deny.

Why, then, has this method of choosing men to office been abandoned in the most progressive jurisdictions? There are at least six charges against it. First, it causes an unnecessary increase in offices; second, it fills the office with incompetent men; third, it impairs efficiency through the development of an exceedingly rapid labor turnover; fourth, it wastes the time of both administrators and legislators; fifth, it causes an increase in the cost of government; and, sixth, it breeds corruption.

The truth of the first charge will be attested by anybody living under a jurisdiction in which the spoils system still prevails. Frequently, the daily papers carry puns on the situation. The cartoonist who portrayed a clerk in a Government office declining a cup of coffee offered him at lunch with the horrified exclamation, "My dear fellow, it will keep me awake all the afternoon," but pictured, more than likely, an actual incident. Or if the incident was not real, it at least seemed very much in keeping with the general repute of the Government service.

That appointments made in consideration of party work rather than upon the basis of qualifications for office will result in the appointment of incompetent men needs no proof.

The expense involved in the labor turnover is not, perhaps, so generally realized. Only when one discovers that private capital estimates the cost of replacing an industrial employee at from ten dollars to three hundred dollars, depending on the degree of skill involved, and the cost of replacing a clerk at approximately one hundred dollars, is it possible to attain a real conception of the cost of the spoils system. The principle of the spoils system, carried to its logical conclusion, would bring about a complete change of personnel with each change of administration. At no time, however, has the principle been applied in its entirety. To the extent that it is, nevertheless, by just so much is the efficiency of the service impaired. And to just that degree does the nation suffer a loss.

Furthermore, the pressure upon both legislators and administrators has very frequently consumed so much of their time that they have in fact become nothing more than office brokers. The real work for which they were elected suffered accordingly.

The final charge against the system is that it breeds corruption. In general, offices are used for the buying of political support when they are distributed under the spoils system. Offices, not principles, become the chief stimulus to political effort. Ethically it is hard to see any difference between the man who sells his political influence for office and the man who sells his vote for money, save in the matter of degree. Nor is it any wonder that serious scandals occur with this type of individual in office. It is, indeed, an easy transition from the stage of thought which permits the manipulation of public office for political advancement to one which permits the use of official position for aggrandizement in other ways.

This, then, is the spoils system and these are the charges against it. What method of choosing individuals to fill the administrative service has been devised to replace it?

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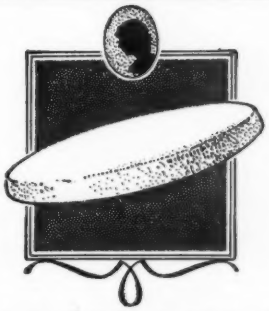

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system. A civil service board has been appointed for the purpose of eliminating spoils and developing a system of personnel management. The purpose of the board might be stated as the reduction of the labor turnover, the recruitment of the highest type of personnel and the development of zeal in the service.

A system of examinations has been devised for the elimination of the unfit. These examinations are usually designed to test the applicant's ability to fill the *particular* position in question. They vary in character with the character of the work to be performed. In New York common labor is given a physical examination and strength test. Applicants for positions as inspectors of blasting are sent down into an excavating project and allowed to demonstrate their ability to do blasting. Inspectors of weights and measures are given defective scales to discover the defects. For other positions other examinations are used. A part of the examination of the Director of Food Inspection was to "outline a plan for the organization of an inspection force for the proper control of the food supply of a city of 4,500,000 on a budget allowance of $230,000."

For many positions the written examination is not all-conclusive. Other elements are taken into serious consideration—education, experience, character, etc. When a vacancy arises the three names standing highest on the lists are certified as eligible for appointment. From these the appointing officer may take his choice. This, to some extent, is a departure from the merit principle, but it has been justified upon the ground that the examination does not reveal a man's full character. In the old days, when an examination meant a written examination, nothing more, there was without doubt justification for the procedure. How much justification remains in those jurisdictions where the examinations have been worked out with scientific precision is open to question.

By these means, to some degree at least, partisan considerations in appointments have been minimized, and the unqualified have been barred out.

The work of the commission does not end here, however. Only under a system in which the employees receive equal pay for equal work, in which promotion takes place for merit, and in which promotion is reasonably rapid, can the Government hope to attract to it, or hold, men of high caliber. Hence the task of the civil service commissions has been to produce these conditions in the Government employ. The result has been that movements for reclassification, that is, ironing out the differences in pay and work which everywhere remain as vestiges of the spoils system, have been under way. Efficiency records have been introduced. Transfers from one department to another when openings in the upper ranges of the service occur, have been made possible. And agitation for retirement systems has become widespread.

Although it cannot be said that all the problems that confront civil service commissions have by any means been solved, nevertheless *it can be said that the civil service system has already proved itself infinitely superior to the spoils system.* And that wherever it has had adequate support it is on the high road to the solution of the problems which still confront it.

What has all this to do with the woman citizen? The chances are that *you* live under a jurisdiction in which administrative offices are still considered spoils. If such is the case there is work to do. If not, the chances are that the civil service system of the locality in which you live is more nominal than real. If so, there is still work to do.

A Line on the Movies

By Laura L. Laedlein

TWENTY-ONE — A healthy boy is wounded to the heart (who wouldn't be?) at having to skip, bare-legged and satyr-horned, to the wooden ecstasies of Pannish pipes, for his mother's charity benefit, in company of sundry galloping nymphs. A factory girl who never heard of Pan, a boy and girl affair, and a scandal-panicky family are the story-frame for Richard Barthelmess' intelligent simplicity of acting and Dorothy Mackaill's good support of him. An Inspiration picture, directed by John Robertson.

LILIES OF THE FIELD—A picture of the gay ladies of life, in which the acting is far better than the story. The lilies wear beautiful gowns, but not as beautiful as those of the lady who represents toiling and spinning by rearing one child on millions in Washington Square. Corinne Griffith and Conway Tearle. A First National picture, directed by John Francis Dillon.

THE THIEF OF BAGDAD—A spirited fairy-tale, beautifully produced and directed, with Douglas Fairbanks in the rôle of the gallant prince of thieves, playing laughter and romance with pantomimic clarity and grace. The picture has unusual consistency of manner and mood. Not to be missed by children—of all ages—who want excitement and beauty, nor by those seriously picture-curious. A Douglas Fairbanks production, from the Arabian Nights, and directed by Raoul Walsh.

THE FIGHTING COWARD—A young conscientious objector to the old Southern code of fire-eating runs away from home, and indulges his love of peace by building on bluster a reputation for ruthlessness no one dares touch. A cast of favorites includes Ernest Torrence, Mary Astor and Cullen Landis. A Paramount picture, from the stage play "Magnolia" by Booth Tarkington, and directed by James Cruze.

BIG BROTHER—This is a story of an East Side gangster made socially orthodox by the responsibility of a small boy ward. The rare chance for a heavy sentimentality is pretty well withstood: intelligent direction and the often excellent acting of Tom Moore and his small colleague, Mickey Bennett, touch the stereotyped story-outline with fresh human color. Small boys will like Midge and his hero, though the latter has a heavy hand in the matter of soapsuds, and probably uses the wrong soap, too. A Paramount picture, from a story by Rex Beach, and directed by Allan Dwan.

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The School Child's Health

By Gulielma F. Alsop

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ENORMOUS demands in body growth and glandular and muscular development are made on the child from the beginning of the school age right through adolescence. To satisfy these bodily demands adequately, the child needs an enormous caloric intake of food. A growing child should eat two or three times as much as his businessman father. He needs as much food for his actual growth as a lumberman does for heat and energy, working in the woods in Maine in winter, or a soldier in active service, or a sailor at sea in a storm. The satisfaction of the child's needs is provided for by nature in two ways: By the possession of a large appetite, which usually demands food at least six times a day, and by a great muscular activity which utilizes the body-building foods eaten and transforms them into bones, brains, muscles, organs, skin, hair.

The same vitaminic necessities that apply to the baby's and the young child's food hold good here, as they do through life. But the qualities that stimulate growth are more essential before the bones have ceased developing. The diet of a growing child should be abundant, varied—not selected—and simple. The only restriction should be in the line of sweets. It should contain ample body-building foods—milk, eggs, meat; exuberant heat and energy foods, carbohydrates, with special stress on vitamines and minerals in the vegetables, fruits and whole cereals.

A well co-ordinated muscular body guarantees that the various functions of the physical body, digestion, absorption, assimilation, excretion, circulation, secretion, will proceed normally, with ease and efficiency. The skeletal growth depends upon the muscular growth. No back or shoulders are held straight by the bones themselves but always by the muscles joining the bones. The success of skeletal growth is first, nutritional, second muscular. If the muscles are sufficiently developed, then the skeletal growth takes place with success, resulting in good posture, an erect carriage, straight shoulders, flat back, strong, high-arched feet.

Muscles grow by use, by long, unwearying, oft-repeated use. The muscular demands of a growing child can only be met by four, or better six, hours of bodily activity daily. Every muscular act is at the same time a nervous act and trains the nerve centers. If one picks out just at random a nervous child it is sure to be a thin, indoor, unmuscled child. The steady, well-balanced girl or boy is always well-fed, well-muscled.

A child's instinct, if left free and untrammeled, will in most cases drive it to obtain the fulfillment of these necessities. Usually it is our misguided methods of civilization, emphasizing the brain at the expense of the body, which confine a child too soon in school; so doing it incalculable harm and influencing its entire adult life. School requires quite the opposite behavior from nature. School requires quiet, silence, application and the close use of the eyes in reading and writing; nature demands noise, motion, diversity and the use of the eyes for distance only.

Moreover, the resistance of a child to infectious diseases is much less under ten years of age than after that age. A child needs space, not crowding, isolation from contact with disease until the resistance has increased.

This does not mean that the child should simply run wild, though that is often excellent, but that it should be vigorously taught muscular skill in games and sport, and some mechanical skill with tools as in carpentering and sewing.

Feed the child well. Postpone its schooling until eight, or better, ten. When it does go to school, remember that its hours of play out of doors should be as jealously guarded and as thoughtfully planned as its hours of study in school.

Your Investments

The Austrian Loan

By Eleanor Kerr

NORMALLY there is no great range in the exchange value of the currency of a country which is theoretically on a gold basis. The European war, however, as one of its serious aftermaths, left the currencies of Europe in a disordered and demoralized condition. In the case of Austria tremendous amounts of paper money were issued, not only during war years, but later, while the gold reserve actually became smaller, so that by 1922 the Austrian crown was barely worth the paper on which it was printed. Meanwhile the Empire had been broken up, several new countries being formed out of the territory of the former dual monarchy, leaving to the Republic of Austria the City of Vienna, and approximately the territory which formed the old Duchy of Austria, comprising about 33,000 square miles and a population of about 6,500,000.

Conditions rapidly became chaotic, since the currency basis lacked stability, making savings and investments useless unless they took the form of material objects. There was no incentive to in-

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dustry since wages depreciated more quickly even than they could be spent. Commerce was at a standstill and real want followed its breakdown.

At this stage the League of Nations stepped in and, placing Austria in what was practically a receivership, appointed Dr. Zimmermann, a practical Dutch economist and politician, as administrator. A plan was arranged whereby a foreign loan, guaranteed by the leading nations of the world (with the exception of the United States, which is not a member of the League), should be raised in gold to form the basis of a gold reserve to stabilize the Austrian currency. This loan was issued last summer and yielded the equivalent of over $120,000,000. The Austrians themselves added a further amount of gold, and as a result the country's currency was placed on a definite stable basis of 70,000 Austrian crowns to the American dollar. The League of Nations' plan for rehabilitation provided for the transfer to private management of various state industrial enterprises, gradual reduction in the number of state employees, and other efficient measures.

As a result of this stabilization of the currency, even though it was done at such a low rate, banking and commercial conditions have greatly improved, savings are once more in evidence and it looks as if the Austrian budget would be balanced during the coming year.

Stabilization of currency is an assurance that, no matter how small one may call the value of the unit, it is nevertheless going to remain close to that value. This assurance, coupled with renewed energy and the knowledge of the moral as well as financial support of other nations, has produced a transformation which may be regarded as the first step in putting the nations on a sound basis.

The success of the Austrian loan will probably lead to other similar issues, a stabilization loan to Hungary being now in process of arrangement.

Is Woman Suffrage Failing?

(*Continued from page* 10)

"Women have contributed, too, in raising the tone of the polls. They are no longer considered places of black smoke and men's feet parked on tables. The women did this unconsciously with no especial effort. Their mere presence seemed the signal for the change. Even the most grudging will admit this.

"One political speaker told me also that women had raised the tone of meetings, that when they were present, the audience listened more attentively. I don't know whether women are more interested or whether they are just more used to listening! I think women are helping, too, to get politicians away from the flowery type of speech, on which so much time and effort are wasted. Women like speeches cut to bare essentials, and they will let this be known. I am hoping this influence will penetrate even to Congress.

"Very little has been accomplished as yet by the women in the parties. Many of them looked upon suffrage as an end in itself. Now they are learning to understand how they can make themselves effective by working through their parties. The machinery is complicated; there is much to learn. And they must work their way in.

"Of course, in the inner councils, where things are decided, the women voters have as yet very little place. I'm surprised more use has not been made of women. Women are intensely practical; they are also good at finance. They are extremely careful of small accounts and attentive to detail. I think men must eventually realize this and make the most of it. They are already beginning to feel that women are not trying to snatch anything away from them, and they show themselves quite willing to discuss politics with women as equals.

"Probably one of the finest things the vote has done for women is to make them take a much greater interest in public affairs; and politics proves a great leveler. Interest in working for the same party or the same measure makes you forget social differences and puts you on the same footing. Politics makes for that neighborliness so much needed in great big New York. It is especially needed by women, many of whom are much hedged in and protected—privileged in a way. Politics throws them entirely on their own. When I go out to a dinner with my husband I am accepted largely on account of what I am through him. But when I go to a political dinner I am just myself.

"Women, really, have gotten more from enfranchisement than they have as yet given, I believe. But give them time, and they will have definite achievements to show for it."

The responses in this number of the symposium came by letter and through interviews secured by Eve Chappell and Frances Drewry McMullen.

We still have many more names waiting. Just picking at random, there are Jane Addams, Newton D. Baker, Mrs. John Pratt, Ada Comstock, Samuel Gompers, W. G. Shepherd, Maud Swartz, Helen Varick Boswell, etc., etc. Comments on the symposium are coming in too, and they will make good disputatious reading.

Keep within three hundred words, please, if you write us a letter.